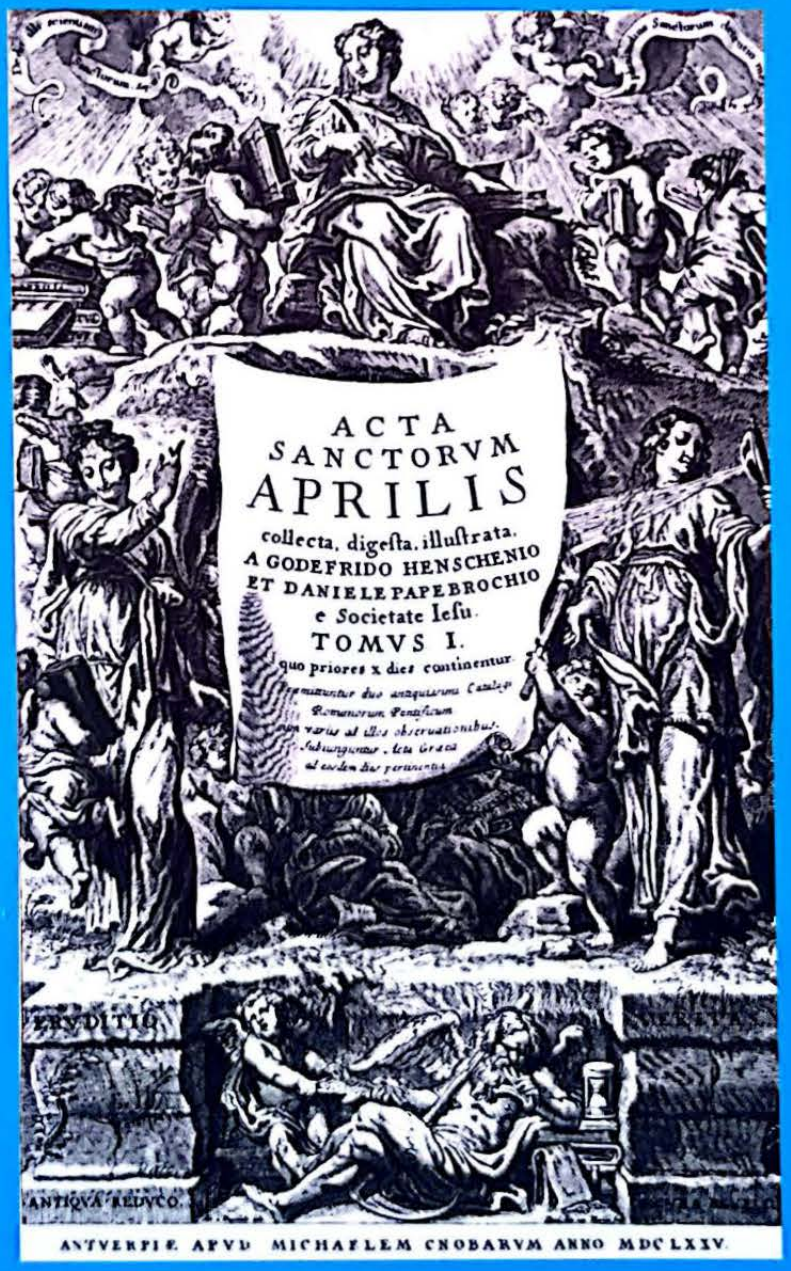
DANIEL PAPENBROECK, SJ

THE BOLLANDIST DOSSIER ON ST ALBERT OF JERUSALEM



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Daniel Papenbroeck, SJ

The Bollandist Dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem

Edited and translated by
Patrick Mullins O.Carm.

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This book is dedicated to my colleagues, the academic and administrative staff of the Milltown Institute of Theology and Philosophy, Dublin (1968-2015), and to its students: *Sed posteri dies Testes sunt sapientissimi. Sic omnia tempus & labor elucidat.*

The image on the front of this book is the title page of the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for April, published in 1675, which included the Bollandist dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem.[1]

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edizioni@ocarm.org
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[1] See Bollandists, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, 53 vols. (Antwerp: Apud Ioannem Meursium, 1643-1794), 9 (Apr I):769-802.

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Introduction

Although it has received relatively little attention from Carmelite scholars in recent times, the Bollandist dossier of St Albert of Jerusalem (1675) has played, and should perhaps continue to play, an important role in our understanding of how Carmelite traditions evolved since the late thirteenth century. In order to appreciate its significance, however, the modern reader needs to know something about its historical background, about the *Acta Sanctorum* in which it was published, about its author, Daniel Papenbroeck SJ, and about the process of its drafting. Having said something about each of these in the first section of this introduction, the second section will outline the structure and content of the thirteen chapters of the dossier and the third section will evaluate its overall reception and lasting significance. The final section will introduce the reader to the way in which the dossier will be presented in this translation.

The Historical Background, the Context and the Writing of the Dossier.

The dossier on St Albert is concerned, to a great extent, with the nature of the link between those who frequented Mount Carmel during the 2,000-year period between the ninth century BC prophets, Elijah and Elisha, and the Latin hermits for whom St Albert wrote his 'Formula of Life', sometimes referred to as his Rule,[1] at some point between 1206 and 1214. Were those hermits for whom Albert wrote that Formula of Life' a recently established group whose formal origins began with that Rule or were they the result of an initiative beginning with Elijah and Elisha that was already in its third millennium? Following the Carmelites' migration to Europe during the middle years of the thirteenth century, Albert's Rule/Formula of Life became the basis of the Carmelite Rule of Religious Life, formally promulgated by Pope Innocent IV in 1247. In 1274, Bl. Pope Gregory X promulgated the canons of the Second Council of Lyons,

[1] Since the Formula of Life envisages and essentially lay form of life, it is not, as such, a Rule of Religious Life. Papenbroeck, nevertheless, refers to it as a Rule in his dossier.

held that year. In keeping with the prohibition of new Religious Orders by the Fourth Council of the Lateran in 1215, many of the mendicant orders were suppressed and the status of the Carmelites became uncertain:

> We grant that the order of Carmelites and that of the Hermits of Saint Augustine, the institution of which preceded the said general council, may remain as they are (*in suo statu*), until other regulations are made for them.[2]

Although possibly drafted about a decade earlier,[3] the first rubric in the earliest extant set of Carmelite Constitutions (1281) may have been drawing attention to the fact that the Carmelites were established before the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 when it described the relationship between the ninth century prophets and the Latin hermits of the early 1200s in a way that may have deliberately downplayed the significance of the Carmelite Rule of 1247:

> We declare, bearing testimony to the truth, that from the time when the prophets Elijah and Elisha dwelt devoutly on Mount Carmel, holy Fathers both of the Old and of the New testament, in holy penitence unceasingly and successfully maintained in a praiseworthy manner in the same place, near the spring of Elijah, have, as true lovers of heavenly things, frequented the solitude of the same mountain for the sake of contemplation. Whose successors, in the time of Innocent III, Albert, the patriarch of Jerusalem, gathered together into one college, writing a Rule for them, which Pope Honorius, the successor of the same Innocent, and many of his successors, approving that Order, most devoutly confirmed under the testimony of their bulls.[4]

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[2] Giovanni Domenico Mansi, ed. *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 31 vols. (Florence & Venice: Apud Antonium Zatta, 1759-1798), 24:96 p. 303.

[3] See Patrick Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, Institutum Carmelitanum, Textus et studia historica Carmelitana, 38 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2015), 52-53.

[4] *Dicimus enim veritati testimonium perhibentes quod a tempore Helye et Helisei prophetarum montem Carmeli devote inhabitancium, sancti patres tam veteris quam novi testamenti eiusdem montis solitudinem pro contemplatione celestium tamquam veri amatores, ibidem iuxta fontem Helie in sancta penitantia sanctis successibus incessanter continuata, sunt proculdubio laudabiliter conversati. Quorum successores, tempore Innocencii tercii, Albertus Ieroselimitane ecclesie patriarcha in unum congregavit collegium, scribens eis regulam quam Honorius papa, successor ipsius Innocencii, et multi successorum suorum ordinem istum approbantes, sub bullarum suarum testimonio devotissime confirmaverunt.* See Ludovico Saggi O.Carm., "Constitutiones capituli londinensis anni 1281," *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum* 15 (1950), 203-245.

The Carmelites were eventually recognised as having a status equivalent to the Franciscans and Dominicans by the bulls of Pope John XXII, *Quia nostra* of 1317 and *Inter caeteros* of 1326.[5] In the final decade of that century, the 'Ten Books on the Institution and Illustrious Deeds of Carmelite Religious'[6] assembled by the Catalan Carmelite, Philip Ribot, outlined the story of the Carmelites during the two millennia prior to the Formula of Life/Rule of St Albert of Jerusalem. Books one to five were a history of the Carmelites from the time of Elijah to the New Testament period called 'The Book of the Institute of the First Monks (*Liber de institutione primorum monachorum*)', which Ribot attributed to John II, the 44th bishop of Jerusalem. In book three, we read that:

> Not only [they] but the other monks of this Order living elsewhere still desired to be called Carmelites for this reason, that their Order, and holy association, is derived, and assumed, from those men who, in the said manner, sought, and now still seek, to imitate humbly the religious life of the prophet Elijah on Mount Carmel.[7]

An account of the history of the Carmelites during New Testament times is found in the first three chapters of book eight, described as the Letter of St Cyril of Constantinople, the third of the Priors on Mount Carmel. This Letter links Elijah, John II, the 44th bishop of Jerusalem, and Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem:

> The father of the said religious on Mount Carmel at the time of the emperors Arcadius and Honorius was a certain man of extraordinary virtue and maturity, John by name, who by his example and teaching anxiously conducted his other companions, monks of the same mountain, to seek perfection according to the prophetic discipline of the monastic life established by Elijah. ... At length, on account of his holiness, raised to be bishop of the church of Jerusalem, he succeeded the apostle James as the forty-fourth bishop of that church. ... Eloquently and in the Greek language (which

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[5] See Eliseo Monsignano O.Carm. and G. M. Ximenes O.Carm., eds., *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, 4 vols. (Rome: Hermathenea, 1715-1718, 1768), 1:57-58 n. II, 66-67 n. X.

[6] *Decem libri de institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum carmelitarum.* See Daniel Daniel de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Speculum Carmelitanum, sive historia Eliani ordinis fratrum beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, 4 vols. (Antwerp: Typis Michaelis Knobbari, 1680), 1:1-71.

[7] *Sed et caeteri hujus Religionis Monachi habitantes alibi cupiunt etiam idcirco Carmelitae appellari, quia eorum Religio, et sancta conversatio, est ab illis viris derivata, et sumpta; qui modo predicto satagerunt in monte Carmeli assidue religiosam vitam Prophetae Eliae, et usque nunc satagunt, humiliter imitari.* See Philip Riboti, *Libri decem de institutione et peculiaribus gestis religiosorum Carmelitarum*, 3.5, in ibid., 1:33-34, n. 119.

was then widely used in the church in the Holy Land), he wrote the Book of the Institution of our Order, in which book he described briefly, in order, and with eloquent clarity, the first institution of our Order and the worthiness of its founder, the holy deeds and glorious virtues of those who first professed it, and the exterior habit of dress ...[8]

With the passing of time, however, when the first of their priors, that is brother Berthold, under whose rule they had lived for forty-five years, died, great perplexity entered their souls over how to institute his successor. The said Patriarch Aimery, having died, had left them no clear formula for his institution. At length, after some lapse of time, unanimously putting brother Brocard, a mature man, in command, they all promised him obedience. They remained under his rule for thirty-three years. Led by him, they proposed to Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, that, from the time that the said Patriarch Aimery had united them all under the care of one prior by the bond of obedience, they themselves had desired to live enclosed in a monastery, under the observance of the solitary religious life instituted by the prophet Elijah, which, just as each of them, living as a solitary, ought to strive for perfection and the goal of the solitary life, they were certain was permitted by their institution. Because, nevertheless, they were proposing to be enclosed in a monastery on that [mountain of] Carmel on which, until then, they had not been enclosed at all, for that reason, before they were to be enclosed in it, they were resolutely enquiring from the said Patriarch Albert that, according to their proposal, he would hand down to them a short formula of life concerning certain articles necessary to the monastic association that had been presented to him by them at that time, a formula of life which they would be required to observe from then onwards.[9]

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[8] *Fuit autem tempore Archadii et Honorii Imperatorum in monte Carmeli Pater dictorum Religiosorum quidam vir mirae virtutis, et perfectionis, Joannes nomine, qui caeteros consortes suos, eiusdem montis Monachos, exemplo suo, et magisterio solicite inducebat ad perfectionem inquirendam, secundam propheticam disciplinam vitae monasticae, per Eliam prophetae institutae. ... Qui tandem propter eius sanctitatem in Pontificem Ierosolymitanae ecclesiae sublimatus, Apostolo Iacobo in Episcopato eiusdem Ecclesiae quadragesimus quartus successit. ... Scriptis ... Librum de Institutione nostrae Religionis, eloquio, et literis Graecis (Quibus tunc Terrae Sanctae ecclesia maxime utebatur) in quo libro primariam nostrae Religionis Institutionem, et fundatorem eiusdem dignitatem; atque priscorum Professorum gesta Sancta, et gloriosas virtutes, exterioremque habitus ornatum, praedictus Ioannes propterea, brevi, et lucido eloquio ordinate descripsit ...* See ibid., 1:72 nn. 289-290.

[9] *Processu autem temporis, mortuo primo eorum Priore, videlicet Fratre Bertholdo, sub regimine cujus quadraginta quinque annis manserant: perplexitas magna eorum animos invasit de successore eius instituendo: de cujus institutione nullam certam formam praedictus Patriarcha Aymericus, morte praeventus, eis reliquerat. Tandem post lapsum temporis Fratrem Brocardum, virum perfectum, unanimiter praeficientes, ei omnes obedientiam*

During the final years of the fifteenth century, the *Liber trimerestus* by John Palaeonydorus O.Carm. presented Elijah as the 'origin of every form of Religious Life'[10] and he outlined the history of Brocard, for whom Albert's Rule was written.[11] Thirty years later, the Carmelite, Pietro Tomasso Saraceni, described St Albert of Jerusalem as having, himself, been a Carmelite and as having been the bishop of Bethlehem and of Vercelli and Mortara, both in Italy, before becoming Patriarch of Jerusalem.[12] Between 1645 and 1656, the first three volumes of the *Annales sacri* by Juan Bautista de Lezana O.Carm. (1596-1659) reaffirmed the Carmelite claims to an Elijan succession when they presented a continuous history of the Carmelites from the time of Elijah down to the first Latin prior of Mount Carmel, St Berthold I.[13]

Hagiography, the systematic study of the lives of the Saints, developed significantly during the seventeenth century and, as a result, the traditions associated with different saints began to be subjected to critical scrutiny. The Saints celebrated by the Carmelites, some of whom were from the first millennium of Christianity, were among those who came under scrutiny and, in 1643, the *Vindications* of Peter Wasteels O.Carm. had tried to defend the authenticity of both 'The Book of the Institute of the First Monks (*Liber de institutione primorum monachorum*)' and the Letter of St Cyril of Constantinople against their critics. Probably

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promiserunt, sub regimine cujus trigenta tribus annis permanserunt. Quo eis praesidente Patriarchae Ierosolymitano Domino Alberto proposuerunt, quod a tempore quo praedictus Patriarcha Aymericus eos omnes sub cura unius Prioris per obedientiae vinculum colligaverat, ipsi desideraverant vivere inclusi in Monasterio, sub observantia Religiose vitae solitariae, per Eliam Prophetam institutae, qui licet per eorum institutionem essent certi, qualiter unusquisque eorum singulariter degens deberet ad perfectionem, et finem vitae solitariae tendere: quia tamen proponebant in hoc Carmelo includi in Monasterio, in quo nequaquam fuerant adhuc inclusi; ideo priusquam in eo includerentur, obnixe requirebant a praedicto Patriarcha Alberto, ut iuxta propositum eorum traderet eis de quibusdam articulis, per eos tunc sibi oblatis, conversationi monasteriali necessariis, brevem vitae formulam, quam tenere imposterum deberent. See ibid., 1:75 n. 301.

[10] *Cum omnis religionis Helias parens sit et origo fontalis, tanquam alter Abraham: multarum gentium vere pater...* See Joannes Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici* (Mainz: Peter Friedberg für Johannes von Kronenberg, 1497), 25.

[11] See ibid., 81-82.

[12] *... vir sanctitatis ...* See Pietro Tomasso Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum iuxtum novum-antiquum ritum sanctissimi sepulchri Hierosolymitae ecclesie romanorum pontificum pietate ad religionis amplitudine concessu auctore F. Petro Thoma Saraceno Carmelita de Bononia* (Bologna: Typis Clementis Ferronii, 1627), 240-241, 252, 264-265. See also Louis-Marie du Christ OCD, "La succession élianique devant la critique," in Élie le Prophete, Les études carmélitaines (Bruges - Paris: Désclee de Brouwer, 1956), 117-133: 119.

[13] See Juan Bautista de Lezana O.Carm. and Luca Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri, prophetici, et Eliani ordinis Beatae Virginis Mariæ de monte Carmeli*, 4 vols. (Rome: Typis Mascardi, 1645-56).

the most influential of the hagiographic studies undertaken at that time was the *Acta Sanctorum*, pioneered by the Jesuits, Jean Bolland and Godfrey Henschen. Inspired by the writings[14] and the proposals of the Jesuit, Heribert Rosweyde (1569-1629), this long series of studies began in 1643, with two volumes dedicated to the Saints whose feasts were celebrated in January. The critical biography of Pope St Telesphorus (January 5th) listed no references to the second century Pope making profession as a Carmelite that were earlier than the final decade of the sixteenth century.[15] The dossier on the seventh century monk and martyr, St Anastasius (Magundat) of Persia (January 22nd), identified his monastery as that of the Abbot Athanasius, rather than as a Carmelite monastery.[16] The hagiographical study on the well-known Father of the Church, St Cyril of Alexandria (January 28th), found no evidence to support the Carmelites' claim that he had been a monk or a Carmelite.[17] Fifteen years later, in 1658, the three volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* for the month of February appeared, also edited by Bolland and Henschen. Commenting on the Carmelites' claim that she had been a Carmelite, the dossier on the Alexandrian Virgin, St Euphrosyne (February 11th), pointed out that the available sources describe her as entering the monastery of Theodosius, in the desert of the north-western Nile delta.[18]

By the time the three volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* on those Saints whose feasts were celebrated during the month of March were published in 1668, Bolland and Henschen and been joined by their fellow-Jesuit, Daniel Papenbroeck. The March volumes included dossiers on the first of the Carmelite Priors on Mount Carmel, St Berthold I O.Carm. (March 29th), written by Bolland prior to his death in 1165 and prepared for publication by Henschen, and on the third of the Carmelite Priors on Mount Carmel, St Cyril of Constantinople (March 6th), written by Henschen. The misgivings of the authors were evident when the dossier on Berthold I regretted that 'none of his records composed by contemporary or ancient authors are extant'[19] and when the dossier on Cyril commented that the

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[14] See Heribert Rosweyde SJ, *Fasti sanctorum quorum vitae in belgicis bigliothecis manuscriptae* (Antwerp: Officina Plantiniana, 1607).

[15] See Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 161.

[16] See ibid., 162.

[17] See ibid., 163.

[18] See ibid.

[19] *... nulla extant eius Acta ab auctoribus coaevis aut antiquis conscripta...* See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-1794), 8 (Mar III):791 n. 2; Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 164.

'splendid and illustrious' things narrated about him 'would deserve to be confirmed by the writers of old [times].'[20]

Born in Antwerp, then part of the Spanish Netherlands, on the 17th of March[21] 1628, Daniel Papenbroeck attended the Jesuit second-level college in Antwerp for two years before becoming a Jesuit novice at the age of 18 in 1646. Having studied humanities at Malines and theology in Louvain, he was ordained a priest in 1658. The following year, 1659, Bolland and Henschen, who had already begun work on the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, were relieved of any other responsibilities so that they could dedicate themselves to their hagiographic work. Papenbroeck joined them that year and he immediately began work on some of the Saints for the March volumes. Space had been found for the beginning of an archive where the books and other material being collected could be stored and Papenbroeck made the large inheritance he received from his father, a rich merchant, available of this Hagiographical Museum. Pope Alexander VII had invited Bolland to Rome in 1660 but, being too ill to travel, Henschen and Papenbroeck went instead and, having visited libraries and archives in Germany, Italy and France, they were treated as honoured guests by the Pope and the Cardinals, who ensured that they were given access to all the libraries in Rome and copyists who made copies of documents for them. On their return journey, between July 1660 and October 1662, they visited a number of libraries and archives in Italy (including Vercelli, see n. 7 of the dossier) and France to gather material for their hagiographical studies. In 1664, Bolland and Henschen sent Papenbroeck to Italy to collect further documents and, when he returned the following year, Bolland was already dead. It was Papenbroeck and the already ailing Henschen who completed the work on the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, which were published in 1668.[22]

In addition to the different dossiers that he contributed to the *Acta Sanctorum*, Papenbroeck was one of the pioneers in developing a methodology for distinguishing between authentic and spurious historical documents.[23] In 1675, along with his dossier on St Albert, Papenbroeck

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[20] *... mererentur antiquorum scriptis confirmari.* See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-1794), 6 (Mar I):500 n. 9; Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 164-165.

[21] It was Papenbroeck who drafted the Bollandist dossier on St Patrick, whose feastday is celebrated on March 17th, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 7 (Mar II):517-592.

[22] See Donald Sullivan, "Jean Bolland (1596-1665) and the Early Bollandists," in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline. Volume I: History*, ed. Helen Damico and Joseph B. Zavadil (New Rork: Routledge, 2013), 3-14: 8-9.

[23] See Friedrich Heer, *The Intellectual History of Europe*, trans. Jonathan Steinberg (New York: The World Publishing Company, 1966), 271.

published such a methodology under the title *Propylaeum antiquarium circa veri ac falsi discrimen in vetustis memranis* (the antiquarian gateway concerning the difference between genuine and false in ancient parchments) in the second of the April volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum*.[24] It was in response to Papenbroeck's identification of some of the charters of the Abbey of St-Denis in Paris as spurious in this treatise that Jean Mobillon issued his own more precise and detailed account of the principles for identifying spurious documents, *De re diplomatica*, in 1681.[25] Afterwards, Papenbroeck commented that the 'chief merit' of his *Propylaeum antiquarium* was that 'it inspired Mabillon to write his excellent work'.[26]

In the conclusion of the dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem, Papenbroeck estimates that, on average, it took fifty months, or four years and two months, to write each *Acta Sanctorum*. Since the March volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* were published in 1668, the April volumes should have been ready by 1672, approximately, and the three-year delay in publishing them would seem to be due to difficulties in having the proposed dossiers (and especially, perhaps, the dossier on Albert) approved. While both scholarship and prudence were always required by the very nature of critical hagiography, the dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem was particularly sensitive and the draft seems to have faced a number of difficulties in the demanding process of internal and external censorship that the Jesuits had adopted. At the request of the Carmelites, who were concerned about what had already been published in the *Acta Sanctorum* for the first three months of the year, the Jesuit General, Giovanni Paolo Oliva SJ, had written to the Bollandists in 1671 warning that 'if a certain glory of antiquity that is attributed to this Order must not be confirmed by us, it must, at least, not be attacked by us'.[27] At some point in 1675 the first draft had been completed and, after he sent the draft to the Jesuit Generalate in Rome for their approval, Papenbroeck also sent a copy to Aubert van den Eede, the vicar general of the diocese of Antwerp, who

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[24] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 10 (Apr II):i-lvi.

[25] See Jean Mabillon OSB, *De re diplomatica libri vi: in quibus quidquid ad veterum instrumentorum antiquitatem... explicuntur & illustratur.* (Paris: Sumptibus Caroli Robustel, 1709); Albert Poncelet SJ, "Mobillon et Papebroch," in *Mélanges et documents publiés a l'occasion du 2e centenaire de la mort de Mabillon* (Paris: Librairie Veuve, 1908), 171-175; Sullivan, "Jean Bolland (1596-1665) and the Early Bollandists," 9-10.

[26] See Charles de Smedt SJ, "The Bollandists," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, ed. 1907 (New York: The Gilmary Society, 1907), 639-639: 634.

[27] *... certe antiquitatis Gloria, quae huic Ordini tribuitur, a nobis si not confirmanda, saltem inpugnanda non est.* See Francesco Antonio Zaccharia SJ, ed. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata* (Antwerp: Apud Bernardum Albertum Plassche, 1755), 5.

was the overall censor of the *Acta Sanctorum* for April. In September 1674, van den Eede expressed his satisfaction with the draft and, the following month, Pierre Poussines SJ, who had been asked to review the draft on behalf of the Jesuit Generalate, described it as 'a most accurate and erudite dissertation on the origins of the holy Order of Carmelites'.[28] Charles de Noyelle SJ, recommended that the dossier should not include anything that was 'not consonant with the truth' but also that it should not give the Carmelites 'a cause for legitimate offence or of complaint'. Even if Elijah had not been a Carmelite, he should not be torn away from the Carmelites.[29] Nathanael Southwell did not find the draft dossier problematic and he praised its exactitude, erudition and prudence as a painstaking work of research.[30]

In the light of the comments received, Papenbroeck again revised the draft on a number of occasions. In the conclusion to the dossier, he himself tells us that, in all, between eight and ten further drafts were needed before the experts who had been invited to review it were happy that it offered an unbiased assessment and that anything that might cause unnecessary offence to the Carmelites had been removed.

The Structure and Content of the Dossier.

Papenbroeck's dossier on St Albert was published in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for April in 1675. Instead of the usual structure of the *Acta Sanctorum* dossiers, which began with a summary, presented the relevant texts and then traced the history of the cult in each case, its 33 pages of over 35,000 words were divided into 13 chapters and a conclusion. Noting this structural change, Joassart points out that, although interspersed with commentary, the dossier begins with a biography of Albert (the first four chapters) and then outlines the history of

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[28] *... Dissertationis vestrae accuratissimae et eruditissime super originibus sacri Carmelitarum Ordinis...* See ibid., 18.

[29] *... opera vestro insereretis aliquid non consentaneum veritati. Hoc dumtaxat desideravit ut caveretis illis dare causam iustae offensionis seu querimoniae. Ac nominatim ut Eliam, si ipsis asserere non potestis ipsis non eripiatis.* See Daniel Papenbroeck SJ, *Elucidatio historica actorum in controversia super origine, antiquitate, et historiis Sacri Ordinis Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli...* (Antwerp: Apud viduam et heredes Henrici Thieullier, 1698), 31 n. 67; Bernard Joassart, "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," in *Aspects de l'érudition hagiographique aux xviie et xviiie siècles*, ed. Bernard Joassart, Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes, 99 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2011), 87-124: 98 n. 26.

[30] *... laudans exactionem, eruditionem, prudentiam ... quae elucent in illa operosissima locubratione.* See Zaccharia SJ, *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata*, 18.

the Order in terms of its origins, the adoption of Albert's Formula of Life and the papal recognition of that Formula of Life.[31] I have recently suggested that the thirteen chapters might be described as beginning with five chapters describing Albert's life, cult and drafting of the Carmelites' Formula of Life.[32] The remaining chapters are concerned with the nature of the group for whom the Formula of Life was written (chapters six to nine), the papal recognition and modifications of the Formula of Life (chapter 10-11) and the question of the Carmelites' cloak (chapters 12-13). The departure from the usual form of dossier, and the dedication of four of the thirteen chapters to the nature of the group for which Albert wrote the Formula of Life, of two chapters to the adaptation of the Formula of Life to become the definitive Carmelite Rule of 1247 and of two chapters to the question of Albert's role in the adoption of their distinctive cloak, suggests that Papenbroeck regarded Albert as the determining influence in the establishment of the Carmelites. In chapter five (n. 42), he implies as much when he writes that he would 'go as far, almost, to deny' the claim that the 'small seed' for whom Albert's wrote his Rule/ Formula of Life 'had itself been cut off from some immense and aged tree that (just as a tradition of the Carmelite Order of whatever kind holds) had once been planted by Elijah'.

The first chapter of the dossier outlines Albert's life before he became Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1206 from the extant documents at Vercelli, where he had been bishop from 1185 to 1205. It notes that Albert's feastday, celebrated on April 8th, was then celebrated only among the Carmelites in that city. It notes that, before becoming Bishop of Vercelli in 1185 about the age of 35, Albert had been a Canon of the Holy Cross of Mortara and Prior of the monastery of the Holy Cross of Mortara, and that he had become bishop-elect of Bobbio in 1184. The chapter then describes Albert's exemplary and reforming ministry in Vercelli, liberating a possessed woman in 1189, holding a reforming synod in 1192, mediating in disputes and being honoured by both the Popes and Holy Roman emperors of the time.

Chapter two offers a critique of the claims made by Louis de Sainte Thérèse OCD and by other Carmelite writers that contradicted what had been said in the first chapter, showing that they had no solid foundation. Papenbroeck recognises that some had accepted such claims uncritically and that, as earlier Bollandist dossiers had shown in the cases

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[31] See Joassart, "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 99.

[32] See Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 182.

of St Berthold I and St Cyril of Constantinople, the lack of contemporary collaborative documentation should be regarded with suspicion. There were accounts of the life of Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem that confused him with a different individual who was the Bishop of Bethlehem or with the Greek-Orthodox monk, Leontius, who became the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1170.

In the third chapter, the dossier outlines the circumstances under which Albert was elected as Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1205 and gives in its entirety the letter written by Pope Innocent III persuading him to accept this appointment. It notes that he was also appointed as Papal Legate and that he lived at Acre, which also had its local bishop, rather than at Jerusalem. Papenbroeck also outlines the different letters sent to Albert by Pope Innocent, including one inviting him to the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

Chapter four outlines the circumstances of Albert's time as Patriarch of Jerusalem based on the account of Albert's life in the Vercelli archives, which were written shortly after his death. It also questions the credibility of some of the other accounts of Albert's death and of the year in which he died because of their inherent implausibility and because they contradict the Vercelli account. Papenbroeck argues that there seems to be no evidence of a Carmelite cult of St Albert of Jerusalem before the year 1500 approximately and he points out that one of the readings for his feast, introduced in 1672, was not based on contemporary sources and should not be regarded as trustworthy. He also questions the credibility of the claims that there was already an established cult of St Albert among the Canons Regular or in the Diocese of Vercelli.

The fifth chapter begins by noting that, just as St Augustine's Rule was not always listed among his writings, the Rule/Formula of Life that Albert wrote for the Latin hermits on Mount Carmel is not mentioned by other contemporary writers or, indeed, by Albert himself in his other writings. Papenbroeck would 'go so far, almost, as to deny' the claim that the group of Latin hermits for whom Albert's wrote his Rule/Formula of Life were the fruit of some initiative beginning with the Old Testament prophet Elijah. Noting the contradictions involved in claiming continuity of procession or succession from Elijah, Papenbroeck needed more solid supporting evidence before he could accept that the first millennium Saints claimed by the Carmelites had indeed belonged to some kind of an Elijan/Carmelite institute. The text of the Albertine Rule is given in full in the final part of the chapter.

Having completed his account of Albert's life, his cult and his writing of his Rule/Formula of Life for the Carmelites, chapters six to nine of the dossier are concerned with the nature of the group for whom the For-

mula of Life was written. The sixth chapter notes that, like St Augustine's Rule, the Albertine Rule was written for a single community that seemed to have no previous written documentation. Papenbroeck held that there were originally about ten Latin hermits, since that was the number associated with the monk from Calabria whom he identifies with Berthold I, Brocard's predecessor, and who was mentioned by the Greek monk, John Phocas, in his account of a visit to Mount Carmel in 1185. Noting that the term 'Carmelites' was not then in common use to describe people living on Mount Carmel, which was not among the usual sites visited by pilgrims, Papenbroeck suggests that, contrary to the elaborate histories claimed by the Carmelites themselves, none of the available evidence collaborated the claims of such histories and, in fact, little was known about the life of the group in the period before they received their Formula of Life. Rejecting the claims that the Albertine Rule was based on the *Institute of the First Monks* (which was probably written after, rather than before, the Albertine Rule), the dossier suggested that its relative brevity reflected contemporary literary conventions and that Albert's knowledge of the Camaldolese hermits in Italy, for example, would have enabled him to write such a document.

Chapter seven addresses the Carmelite claim that Patriarch Aimery of Antioch had gathered the first group together under Berthold I, since Mount Carmel had never been under the jurisdiction of the Latin Patriarchs of Antioch and Patriarch Aimery was not known to have been the Apostolic Legate. Since Patriarch Aimery has spent some time in exile in Jerusalem, it suggests that his influence there might have enabled him to promote the cause of Berthold I. The dossier wonders, however, how the group could have been granted the right to make religious professions, since that right depended on the Bishop of Acre or on the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem. Since he suggests a break of twenty centuries in the link between them and the prophet Elijah, Papenbroeck clearly doubts that, after receiving the Albertine Rule, the Latin hermits would have regarded themselves as part of an Elijan succession, as Jacques de Vitry seemed to imply.

The eighth chapter moves on from Berthold I to the question of the date of the Albertine Rule. Having already dated the beginning of Brocard's Priorship to 1200, the dossier noted the various dates that had been suggested, which ranged from 1121 to 1209, and suggested 1209 as the most likely date. Because they did not conform to the norm of the period to which they claimed to belong, Papenbroeck dismisses the silver pilgrims' coin stamped with Albert's name, and some of the later heraldic crests associated with the Carmelites, as fictitious but he defends the authenticity of Albert's seal as Patriarch of Jerusalem. He also outlines

the likely origins of the authentic Carmelite crest, noting that it was a representation their white cloak over their dark habit.

Chapter nine tries to identify the Breviary and Martyrology that the first Carmelites received from Albert. Noting the parallels between the liturgical prescriptions of the Albertine Rule and those prescribed by the Rule of St Francis of Assisi, it suggests that their knowledge of European Religious Life would have enabled either Saint to draw up the liturgical prescriptions in their Rules. Since the Carmelites' Formula of Life was given to them by a Patriarch of Latin rite, Papenbroeck argued that the hypothesis that the hermits included some from other rites remained something in need of demonstration. The Carmelite Breviary of 1481 described itself as being based on the usages of the Holy Sepulchre, the same usages that Albert would have followed during his time at Acre. Were there, indeed, a succession from the prophet Elijah, one would have expected the prophet's feast to be included in the Carmelite Breviary of 1481 but, in fact, such a feast was only introduced later. Papenbroeck also points out that there was no evidence to support the claim to being Carmelite of a number of the first millennium Saints included in the Carmelite martyrology. Rather than being based on early Greek or Syrian rites, a comparative analysis showed that the Carmelite Breviary was based on the Roman Rite.

Having demonstrated the Latin origins of the group for whom Albert wrote his Formula of Life, and the lack of supporting evidence for the claim that they were part of a succession from Elijah or for the claim that their group had included some first millennium Saints, chapters ten and eleven of the dossier outline the way in which later Popes approved and modified the prescriptions of that original document. In chapter ten, the dossier recognises that we learn nothing about the Latin hermits on Mount Carmel from Albert's other writings and that it is therefore unlikely that the group already had many different hermitages, of different rites, languages and customs, both in the forests and in cities, as the Carmelites had claimed. The dossier also points out that the Carmelites make no claim to their antiquity, or to any previously approved Rule, when they were attempting to establish their right to exist following the decree of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) requiring any new groups of Religious to accept the Rule of one of the already approved Orders. Outlining the inherent contradictions in what were alleged to be earlier papal bulls granting indulgences to the Carmelites, Papenbroeck recognises Pope Honorius III's *Ut normam vivendi* as the first Apostolic Bull addressed to them. He also outlines the nature of the bulls issued by Pope Gregory IX's and some of those issued by Pope Innocent IV and the light which the titles used to describe the Carmelites throw on the group for whom they were intended.

The eleventh chapter outlines what is known about the spread of the Carmelites to Europe and the way in which the Albertine Rule was modified to become the Carmelite Rule promulgated by Pope Innocent IV in 1247. It gives the text of the 1247 Rule and its associated documents in full, noting that those documents used the terms 'Prior General' and 'Definitors of the General Chapter' that were already in use among the other Mendicants. Papenbroeck comments that the original institution of the eremitical profession had undergone a gradual transformation and that the coenobitical form of Religious life, and the explicit adoption of the vows of obedience, chastity and the renunciation of property, typical of the Mendicants, was now being proposed. Noting the other changes, which included making foundations that were not 'in solitary places' and having a common refectory rather than eating in one's cell, the dossier describes the Rule of 1247 as a mitigation that brought the Order from the rigour of the eremitical life to the moderation of the coenobitic life by allowing them to construct their hermitages or monasteries in the wooded or cultivated suburbs but not, as such, in cities. Referring to the 1254 letter of Pope Innocent IV, which allowed the Carmelites to preach and to hear confessions, and to the *Mare magnum* of 1476, which granted them almost all the privileges of the Dominicans and Franciscans, Papenbroeck noted the mitigation of Albert's norms for fasting and abstinence by Popes Eugene IV and Sixtus IV.

In the final two chapters, twelve and thirteen, the dossier discusses the original barred cloak of the Carmelites and the change from this barred *carpita* or Syrian-style woollen cloak to a white *pallium* or western-style woollen cloak. Recognising that no habit is prescribed in the Albertine Rule, the twelfth chapter notes that Filippo Foresti attributes the Carmelites' original barred cloak to Albert. Presenting the image of Elijah from the old Cathedral in Salamanca as the model for the original 'Elijan' habit, the dossier highlights the likely influence of the striped cloak of the Bishops of the Orthodox and Uniate Churches. He suggests that such a cloak may have been intended to indicate that the Carmelites were directly subject to Albert as Patriarch and exempt from the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Acre or to indicate their origins in Syria, where the cloth used for such cloaks originated. Based on the description found in the acts of the Carmelite General Chapter of 1282, Papenbroeck attempts to reconstruct the likely nature and design of the original barred cloak, which, he suggests, may have been adopted by the Carmelites simultaneously with Albert's Formula of Life. Noting that becoming a Carmelite and adopting their characteristic cloak did not seem to imply a change of name, he seems to suggest that the Carmelites may not have become true Religious until the adoption of the Rule of 1247.

Chapter thirteen suggests that the change in the form of the Carmelite cloak was motivated by the fact that, in the West at that time, the circular, poncho-style of the original Carmelite barred cloaks were commonly worn only by women. Based on the use of the term 'barred' to describe their original cloaks, the dossier argues that the dark stripes must have been horizontal rather than vertical and he outlines the reasons why the description of those cloaks found in the Letter of Cyril should be regarded as unreliable. Given that the Order was named in her honour, Papenbroeck accepts as likely the claim by Foresti that the motive for the change to a white rather than barred cloak was to give honour to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Based on an apparent misunderstanding of the Greek, the dossier rejects the claim by Wasteels that the white cloak of the Carmelites was derived from Elijah's white sheepskin, *melota* in Latin, and it also questions the alleged antiquity of some of the sources cited, including 'Pseudo-John' of Jerusalem and 'Pseudo-Dorotheus'. Based on a geographic confusion, Papenbroeck also questions the credibility of such sources as Pseudo-Liutprand concerning St Elpidius.

In the short Conclusion, the dossier recognises that some wanted to extend the first beginnings of the Carmelite Order back to the age of Elijah. Rejecting such an approach, it describes the Order as having been fully formed under Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century. Pointing out that his own account was not based on envy or on some unwillingness to establish the succession from Elijah but on his academic study of the available sources, Papenbroeck hoped that it would benefit, not only those who sought a more secure judgement on the points at issue, but also the Carmelite Order itself and all those who love the truth.

The Reception and Lasting Significance of the Dossier.[33]

Two French Carmelites wrote to Papenbroeck to congratulate him on his dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem and one of these, Louis Jacob de Saint-Charles OCD, commented that the alleged history of the Carmelites prior to Berthold I was 'nothing but our dreams.'[34] In a letter to Papenbroeck dated February 15th 1676, the assistant General of the Jesuits for Germany, Charles de Noyelle SJ, described the text of the dossier as irre-

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[33] This section is based on my recently published work, see ibid., 250-261.

[34] See Daniel Papenbroeck SJ, *Responsio Danielis Papebrochii... ad exhibitionem errorum per adm. R. P Sebastianum a S. Paulo, Ordinis Carmelitani*, 3 vols. (Antwerp: Apud viduam et heredes Henrici Theullier, 1696-1698), 284 n. 90.

proachable.[35] A few days later, Raymond Capizucchi OP, who as Master of the Sacred Palace was the personal theologian of Pope Bl. Clement X, described the claim of a historical succession from Elijah as 'an almost incredible thing' and he reassured Papenbroeck that there was 'nothing certain' that would allow it to be upheld.[36]

The reaction to the Albert dossier was, however, predominantly negative. One of the first to express their dissatisfaction with the dossier was Daniel de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., who wrote two letters to the Bollandists during the month of August 1675 expressing his disappointment and his intention to publish a response[37] but offering no historical arguments to support his position.[38] Both the Carmelites and Discalced Carmelites complained to the Jesuit Generalate in Rome about the dossier and Cardinal Johann Eberhard Nidhard SJ, also made representations on behalf of the Carmelites.[39] The Jesuit General, Giovanni Paolo Oliva SJ, was shocked by the inappropriate tone of the dossier.[40]

In 1680, Papenbroeck published his 'Previous Apologetic Commentary on the Quarrels of Certain Carmelite Fathers Concerning our [Dossier] for March and for April',[41] which had been approved by the Jesuit censors, in the second volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May.[42] He insisted that he had been at pains to avoid provoking a controversy and that he had left to one side anything that did not directly concern the topic with which he was dealing when drawing up his dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem. When his draft has been severely criticised by a particular Carmelite

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[35] See Bernard Joassart, "Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes," *Analecta Bollandiana* 125 (2007), 139-197: 170-171.

[36] *Quoad Carmelitas, non timeat Paternitas Vestra, nec sit sollicita de aliquot, quia nihil detrimenti patietur volume vestrum, cum re vera de origine illa a Sancto Helia nihil certi habeatur, et sit res prope fabulosa, uti etiam ego existimo.* See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana apologeticis libris in unum volumen nunc primum contractis vindicata* (Antwerp: Apud Bernardum Albertum van der Plassche, 1755), 22. See also Bernard Joassart, "Daniel Papebroch et Raymond Capizucchi, Maître du Sacré Palace. Un prelude à la querelle autour des origines carmélitaines," *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 369-371.

[37] See "Daniel de la Vierge, les Bollandistes et les origines carmélitaines," *Analecta Bollandiana* 118 (2000), 387-398: 393-398.

[38] See "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 103.

[39] See ibid., 104.

[40] See "Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes," 170-171.

[41] See Bollandists, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, 65 vols. (Paris: Victor Palmé, 1863-1925), 15:707-716.

[42] See Joassart, "Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes," 181-183.

theologian,[43] he had asked Daniel de la Vierge Marie O.Carm. to persuade that theologian that his criticism was unjust. Rather than doing so, however, de la Vierge Marie O.Carm. retracted the approval he had already given to the drafts of the Carmelite dossiers included in the March edition of the *Acta Sanctorum*.[44] Pointing out that it was the alleged historical evidence used to demonstrate the succession from Elijah, rather than the claim of the Carmelites that their way of life had been modelled on the form of life instituted by Elijah, that he had questioned in his dossier, Papenbroeck said that he had no objections to the claim that the Elijan succession had been the subject of a revelation, just as the Order of the Servites of St Mary had named her as 'their Foundress' thanks to a revelation.[45]

During May 1680, the Patristics scholar, Pierre François Chifflet SJ, wrote to Louis Jobert SJ, a specialist in the history of medals who had worked with the Bollandists, proposing that, rather than asking Papenbroeck to apologise for the Albert dossier, they should write a work affirming his position without apology.[46] The following October, the Prior General of the Carmelites and the Superior General of the Discalced Carmelites asked their friars to abstain from any attack on the Jesuits in general and on the Bollandists in particular.[47] During 1681 and 1682, Papenbroeck's dossier was denounced by Maximilien de Sainte-Marie OCD[48] and Henri de Saint-Ignace O.Carm.[49] but neither of these writers

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[43] The author and the work in question are indicated by Papenbroeck when he quotes from paragraph 818 of the work, see François de la Bonne Espérance OCD, *Historico-theologicum Carmeli armamentarium proferens omnis generis scuta.... quibus omnium Amicorum Dissidentium Tela, sive Argumenta, in Ordinis Carmelitarum anqiquitatem, originem, et ab Elia sub tribus votis essentialibus in Monte Carmelo haereditariam successionem, hucusque legitime non interruptam...* (Antwerp: Typis Marcelli Pariis, 1669), 346 n. 118; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 15:708 n. 6.

[44] In 1680, the *Speculum Carmelitanum*, a sustained defence of the Carmelites' claim to a historical succession from Elijah by Daniel de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., who had died two years earlier, was posthumously published. On the changing relationship between the Bollandists and Daniel de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., see Joassart, "Daniel de la Vierge, les Bollandistes et les origines carmélitaines."

[45] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 15:707-708 nn. 5-9.

[46] See Bernard Joassart, "Pierre-François Chifflet et la controverse carmélitaine," *Analecta Bollandiana* 117 (1999), 179-180: 181-183.

[47] See "Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes."; "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 107 n. 42.

[48] See Maximilien de Sainte-Marie OCD, *Harpocrates carmelitanus Rdo Patri Papebrochio jesuitae O. C. Impugnatori loquens* (Cologne: Typis Hermanni Demen bibliopolae, 1681), 19, 22.

[49] Henri de Saint-Ignace O.Carm., *Novus Ismael, cujus manus contra omnes, & manus omnium contra eum, sive P. Daniel Papebrochius, Jesuita, omnes impugnans, orbi ex-*

directly addressed the arguments that had been proposed. In January 1682, the French Benedictine scholar, Jean Mobillon, wrote to Papenbroeck advising him to turn a deaf ear to those who complained about his dossier and regretting that his important work had to be interrupted by his need to defend himself against the accusations that had been made.[50] In September that year, Charles du Fresne commented that the history of the Religious Orders needed to be purged of the kind of fables that the dossier had questioned and that, rather than defending the incredible nature of their alleged origins, the Carmelites needed to attach themselves to the truth because it had the power to dissipate the obscurity caused by deceit.[51]

Two otherwise unknown authors, Peter Fischero, writing in 1684,[52] and Marius de Saint-Jacques, writing in 1688,[53] and the *Exhibitio errorum* of Sébastien de Saint-Paul OCD, which was published in 1693, were, again, characterised more by invective than by reasoned and critical argument. Sébastien de Saint-Paul OCD even went so far as to cast doubt on the orthodoxy of the *Acta Sanctorum*, of the Bollandists and of the Jesuit Order as such.[54] In 1695, Conrad Janninck SJ published a

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positus (Augsburg: J. Brille-Maker, 1682), 46, 50. For similar works by other Carmelites, see Valentin de Saint-Amand O.Carm., *Appendix ad prodromum, Harpocrates Jesuiticus, Rdum Patrem Danielem Papebrochium Jesuitam salutaris silentii debitaeque palinodiae monens, per R.P.F. Valentinum à S. Amando* (Cologne: apud Wilhelmum Friessem, 1682); Jacques de Saint-Antoine O.Carm., (Cologne: typis P. Alstroff, 1682); Grégoire de Saint-Martin O.Carm., *Apologie pour l'antiquité des religieux Carmes tenant légitimement leur origine et succession héréditaire des saints profètes Elie et Elisée* (Douai: Chez Michel Mairesse, 1685); Christianus del Monte Carmelo O.Carm., *R. P Papebrochius historicus conjecturalis bombardizans in Actis Sanctorum, SS. Patres, Summos Pontifices, &c. restinctus à Domino Christiano del'Mare* (Salzburg: Gottefredus Junck, 1686); *Debia papebrochiana* (Cologne: n.p., 1688).

[50] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 26:13 n. 71.

[51] See Bernard Joassart, "Antoine Wyon d'Hérouval: correspondant des anciens Bollandistes," *Analecta Bollandiana* 126 (2008), 370-373; "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 107-109.

[52] Petrus Fischero, *Jesuiticum nihil P. Papebrochio Jesuitae, super ipsius cum Carmelitis quoad ordinis illius historiam controversia, Carmeliticis scriptis convicto, & ad silentium redacto demonstratum Petro Fischero...* (Salzburg: apud Gottefredum Junck, 1684), 16 n. 59 & 65 n. 194. For works published in 1683, see Ignotus, *Amyclae jesuiticae sive papebrochius scriptis carmelitarum convictus suo silentio perditus* (Paris: n. p., 1683); Hyacinthe de Saint-Charles, *Réponse du sieur Antoine d'Hérouval a la letter de M. N. Conseiller Roual* (Paris: n. p., 1683); Etienne de Saint-Jean l'Évangéliste, *Suada Harpocratis, Sive P.D. Papebrochius a Carmelitis Convictus, Sibi Suadens Silentium* (Anvers: n.p., 1683).

[53] Marius de Saint-Jacques, (Liège: Apud Gugliermum Henricum Streel, 1688), 22, 33, 36, 44-45, 47, 53, 72, 109.

[54] Sébastien de Saint-Paul OCD, *Exhibitio errorum quos P. Daniel Papebrochius... suis in notis ad Acta Sanctorum commisit contra Christi Domini Paupertatem, Aetatem, & c. Summorum Pontificum Acta & Gesta, Bullas... Oblata... Per F. Sebastianum a S. Paulo*

defence of Papenbroeck, his fellow Bollandist, in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for June.[55] Defending Papenbroeck against the charge of denying that Elijah was, in any sense, the Institutor of the Carmelites and quoting Papenbroeck, he described his fellow Jesuit as teaching:

> ... that the Carmelite Fathers could name the prophet Elijah as their Leader, their Father, their Author and (if they wish) their Institutor [*Institutorem*]; in that sense, no doubt, that the Order had its birth through the revelation and by the order of the same Prophet (that was given to their first prior, St Berthold, which is demonstrated out of a contemporary writer when visiting Mount Carmel, but which was, up to now, almost unknown), in the same way that the Order of the Servites of St Mary name her as 'their Foundress' thanks to a similar revelation. Papenbroeck, then, concedes this and, for that reason, he holds that the Order of the Carmelites may apply to Elijah the much desired title of Institutor, asking, meanwhile, that by writing the *Acta Sanctorum*, it is admitted that one especially inconvenient thing has been shown to be incredible, namely that a religious Order born from Christ has existed for nearly twelve centuries and, for the whole of that time, not one of its writings became clearly known; that it maintained an uninterrupted continuation of the same succession from the times of Elijah up to the twelfth century of Christ and that its authors or domestic traditions prior to the twelfth century should be considered as worthy of much credit by its more recent members.[56]

Alerted by the Carmelites at Antwerp, which was then subject to the Spanish crown, the Inquisition in Toledo investigated the Bollandist writings that the Carmelites had found offensive. In November 1695, the fourteen volumes of the Bollandist's *Acta Sanctorum* for March, April and May, including Papenbroeck's demonstration that the claim by the Carmelites to an historical succession from Elijah had no credible foundation in the first volume for April, were denounced by the Spanish Inquisition. According to the decree, which was published in Flemish, French, Latin and Spanish, these volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* were not to be held, read, sold, printed, bought or retranslated under pain of an automatic excommunication.[57] Following the condemnation of the

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(Cologne: apud Servatium Noethen, 1693), 267-268, 299, 301-302, 311, 350-351, 424, 476, 611, 615.

[55] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 21:i-xlviii.

[56] See ibid., 21:iv.

[57] See Joassart, "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 110-111.

Acta Sanctorum by the Spanish Inquisition, both the Carmelites and the Bollandists appealed to King Charles II of Spain for support. A number of German prelates and princes, and Emperor Leopold I, wrote to Pope Innocent XII supporting the Bollandists. In 1696, Pope Innocent issued an interdict prohibiting both the Carmelites and the Jesuits from publishing material that was critical of one another.

Later described as being 'painfully and deeply moved' by the condemnation of the *Acta Sanctorum* by the Spanish Inquisition,[58] Papenbroeck felt he had no option but to refute the charge of heresy and he prepared a detailed response to what Sébastien de Saint-Paul OCD had identified as his alleged errors, calmly addressing, and refuting, each one from the available evidence. The three volumes of this response were published between 1696 and 1698.[59] Summarising his position on the relationship between Elijah and the Carmelites, Papenbroeck wrote:

> I believe ... that I have recognised that the Carmelites received from Elijah and from St John the Baptist the example of a life that was to be led in solitude and that of those virtues and pious exercises of piety that are appropriate to one that will have embraced such a life. Also, in the same manner, making an example out of that example, I say that, on a par with John the Baptist, Elijah could be called the 'author, institutor and founder of the monks' at least of the New Testament, although neither one nor the other are known to have been bound by religious vows. In a certain sense St Paul, the first hermit, is called 'the author and master of the hermits' in the Breviary, although he had no disciples, had pronounced no vow and did not leave us any institutes.[60]

Having read the first volume of Papenbroeck's response, Bernard de Montfaucon OSB commented during October 1696 that, although he wrote 'with more judgement and solidity than politeness' and was operating under difficult constraints, the Jesuit nevertheless managed his

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[58] See de Smedt SJ, "The Bollandists," 634.

[59] See Papenbroeck SJ, *Responsio... ad exhibitionem errorum.*

[60] *... existimo ... agnovisse ab Elia aeque ac Joanne baptista accepisse carmelitas exemplum vitae, in solitudine ducendae, utique cum iis virtutibus et excertiis piis, quibus convenit incumbere eum qui talem vitam amplexus fuerit. Ab eiusmodi etiam examplo factum dico ut elias vocari possit 'Auctor, institutor, fundator monachorum', novi saltem Testamenti, aeque ac Johannes baptista licet nec his nec ille sciantur fuisse votis religiosis adstricti quemadmodum s. Paulum primus eremita in breviario vocatur 'eremitarum auctor et magister', licet discipulos habuerit nullos, nulla vota noncuparit, nullos a se institutos reliquerit.* See ibid., 2:101.

forces and did not 'push his forces as strongly against his adversaries as he might'.[61]

Conrad Janninck SJ had been sent to Rome in 1697 to plead the cause of his fellow Bollandist and, although he quickly realised that there was no hope of reversing the decision of the Spanish Inquisition,[62] he seems to have had some limited success. In March 1698, without taking a position in favour of one or the other, the Congregation of the Council issued a decree imposing silence on both groups in relation to the primitive institution of the Carmelite Order by the prophets Elijah and Elisha. A brief issued in November 1698 sanctioned this decree on pain on excommunication. During that year, 1698, Papenbroeck published his work, 'The Untrue Origin and Succession of the Holy Order of the Carmelites: In Confirmation of the True Origin and Succession of the Same Demonstrated in an Historico-Chronological Way.'[63] In January 1700, Papenbroeck's *Conatus chronico-historicus ad catalogum Romanorum Pontificum*, which had been published in 1685,[64] was put on the index of prohibited books, where it remained until 1900.[65]

Papenbroeck celebrated his 70th birthday in March 1678 and, about this time, cataracts in both eyes gradually reduced his vision and he was to spend the next few years in total blindness until an operation restored sight to his left eye in 1702.[66] His physical difficulties were increased by a particularly serious illness during 1701, the year following his unsuccessful appeal for rehabilitation to Pope Innocent XII, and, believing that he was on the point of death, he had a public notary record the appeal he addressed to Pope Clement XI:

> Close to death and near to the day when an account of all my actions will have to be given, I ask ... from our most holy Lord, the

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[61] See Joassart, "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 111.

[62] See ibid.

[63] See Daniel Papenbroeck SJ, *Non Vera Origo Atque Successio Sacri Ordinis Carmelitani: In confirmationem Verae Originis atque successionis ejusdem Historico-chronologice demonstrata* (Antwerp: Apud viduam et heredes Henrici Thieullier, 1698); Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana vindicata*, 839-864.

[64] See Daniel Papenbroeck SJ, ed. *Danielis Papebrochii Conatus chronico-historicus ad catalogum Romanorum pontificum, cum prævio ad eumdem apparatu Godefridi Henschenii atque Petri Possini, a. s. Petro usque ad... ac quintum tomum De actis sanctorum Maii operam ac studium conferente Francisco Baertio Societatis Jesu* (Antwerp: apud Michaelem Knobbarum, 1685).

[65] See Joassart, "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 112.

[66] See de Smedt SJ, "The Bollandists," 634.

> said Clement, that, at least after dying, he condescend to grant that which, up to this point, I have not been allowed to obtain during my life. I have lived a Catholic and, by the grace of God, I want to die a Catholic and I also have the right that I die a Catholic in the opinion of other people. I will not be able to obtain this thing as long as the decree of the Spanish Inquisition will be seen to have been issued and published by a just judgment, and, in the same place, I am read as having taught heretical propositions in my books and having been condemned for this reason.[67]

A few years later, on the occasion of George Friedrich Handel's visit to Rome in 1710, the contrast between the claims made by Papenbroeck and their rejection by the Carmelites was highlighted in a dramatic but perhaps unrecognised fashion. At the instigation of the Carmelites' patron, Cardinal Carlo Colonna, the Music for the Carmelites that Handel composed for the celebration of the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in July 1707 included a six-movement motet based on the Carmelite text, *Saeviat tellus inter rigores*, which Donald Burrows describes as 'a somewhat flashy vocal concerto'.[68] The Latin text includes the words 'Let the earth rage among the spasms, O Carmelites ... Let Lucifer roar among the flames ... the Virgin appears to the sleeping Honorius ... Under the protection of such a Virgin, triumph, O Carmelites.'[69] In his dossier on St Albert, Papenbroeck had noted this alleged appearance of the Blessed Virgin Mary to Pope Honorius III in 1226 warning him to approve the Carmelites[70] and the implication that this appearance had also influenced the use of the title 'Hermits of St Mary from Carmel' in a 1227 Brief of Gregory IX. Pointing out that such an alleged precedent was not reflected

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[67] *Id ipsum peto nunc, morti vicinus, et justo judicii Deo rationem actorum a me omnium redditurus propediem, a sanctissimo Domino nostro Clemente praedicto, ut mortuo saltem praestare dignetur quod vivo hactenus non licuit obtinere. Catholicus vixi, Catholicus mori volo per gratiam Dei, et jus habeo, ut Catholicus quoque moriar in opinione hominum. Hoc autem obtineri non poterit, quamdiu Decretum inquisitionis Hispaniae vidibitur justo judicio editum, ac publicatum esse, et ego ibidem legar in libris meis propositiones haereticas docuisse, ac propterea damnatus esse.* See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* (1863-1925), 26:10 nn. 47-49.

[68] See Donald Burrows, *Handel*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: University Press Inc., 2012), 66.

[69] *Saeviat tellus inter rigores; Carmelitae, ... Fremat Lucifer inter ardores... Dormienti Honorio Virgo apparet. ... Sub tantae Virginis tutela, Carmelitae, triumphate.*

[70] See Daniel de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli, seu Historia Eliani ordinis fratrum Beatae Bmae V. Mariæ de Monte Carmelo* (Antwerp: Typis Iacobi Meursii, 1662), 69 n. 112, 70 n. 118, 425 n. 776; Nikolaj Gridzinski, *Diva Virgo Cracoviensis Carmelitaha in Arenis seu Violeto* (Crakow: Ex officio Schedeliana, 1669), 4; Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 3:5 (48).

in 'the very many Diplomas given afterwards', he implied (n. 111) that both the alleged appearance and the alleged Brief were not authentic.

Taking advantage of the less controversial atmosphere following on the silence that had been imposed in 1698, the Jesuit, José Cassani, had meanwhile been pleading the cause of the Bollandists with great moderation and patience in Rome. In due course, in January 1715, a new decree of the Spanish Inquisition abrogated the decree of November 1695 and the new decree was attached to the doors of all the churches in Spain. Papenbroeck, who had died at the age of 86 the previous June, did not live to see his vindication in this decree. In 1717, Conrad Janninck SJ published an appreciative biography of Papenbroeck in volume six of the *Acta Sanctorum* for June.[71] On June 26th 1725, Pope Benedict XIII implicitly abandoned the position adopted by Pope Innocent XII in 1698, and gave implicit approval to the tradition that Elijah was the founder of the Carmelites, when he gave permission to the Carmelites to place a statue of Elijah between the statue of St Dominic Guzman OP and that of St Helena in St Peter's basilica in Rome.[72] The statue, by Agostino Cormacchini, was put in place during July 1727. Its cost, 3,800 Roman *Scudi*, was divided equally between the Carmelites and Discalced Carmelites. The inscription on the pedestal reads: *Universus Ordo Carmelitarum Fundatori suo S. Eliae Prophetae erexit* (The entire Carmelite Order erected [this statue] to its Founder, St Elijah the prophet).[73] The abrogation of the Spanish Inquisition's decree of November 1695 in 1715 and the erection of the statue of Elijah in St Peter's basilica ten years later meant, in effect, that a form of stalemate had been reached on the question of whether Elijah or St Albert of Jerusalem should be recognised as the one the established or founded the Carmelites.

Although ambiguous, this stalemate represented, nevertheless, a shift away from the widespread acceptance of the fabricated antiquity of the Carmelite Order reaching back to Old Testament times. It implied some level of official recognition of the legitimacy of the claim by critical hagiography that there was no evidence to suggest that the Carmelites predated the twelfth century, even if this was not yet widely accepted by

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[71] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 26:1-17.

[72] In 1668, the Superiors General of the major Religious Orders had asked the Congregation for the Construction of St Peter's basilica to allow them to place statues of their founders in the niches of the pillars that did not already have statues. The request was granted subject to the approval by the Congregation to allocate the niches to the various Orders.

[73] See Silvano Giordano OCD, "The Elijan Tradition," in *Carmel in the Holy Land from its Beginnings to the Present Day*, ed. Silvano Giordano OCD (Arenzano: Il Messagero di Gesù Bambino, 1995), 33-40: 40.

the Carmelites. This was, already, a significant achievement and it was in keeping with the goals of the Bollandists who included on the title page of their *Acta Sanctorum* an engraving showing, at the top, the seated female figure of Divine Wisdom, identified by a banner quoting Sirach 10:10 'He gave them the knowledge of the Saints (*Dedit illi scientiam Sanctorum*)' and 24:16 'my abode is in the full assembly of the Saints (*In plenitudine Sanctorum detentio mea*)', receiving a series of volumes that were labelled with the first six months of the year. On the left of the unfurled scroll on which the title is printed, a cherub is being directed towards Divine Wisdom by a woman with a star on her forehead, identified as an allegorical representation by the word 'Learning (*Eruditio*)' and the motto 'I restore old things (*antiqua reduco*)' on the small column on which she is standing. On the right a woman using a curved mirror to focus the light from Divine Wisdom so as to ignite the torch held by a cherub is identified in a similar way by the word 'Truth (*Veritas*)' and the motto 'I bring to light obscure things (*obscura revelo*)'. By his erudition, Papenbroeck had taken a decisive step in undermining an inauthentic tradition and in restoring to the Carmelites an authentic understanding of just how old they really were. By focusing the light the truth on their origins, Papenbroeck had also ignited the flame that would ultimately bring out into the light our obscured foundations. The abiding significance of his dossier has emerged ever more clearly with the passage of time.[74] In a recent study I have outlined the process by which the majority of Carmelites have come to accept that their alleged Elijan succession was fictitious.[75] In that study, I have also traced the parallel process of development that has moved in the direction of restoring to Carmel's true founders the recognition that had been obscured by the claim to an Elijan succession.

Recognising our true founders is not merely a matter of honouring those who shaped the original expression of the charism that unites the many and varied forms in which it now finds expression. It is also, and perhaps primarily, one of the keys that can unlock the dynamism by which that charism creatively renews itself. At the conference to honour the 800th centenary of Albert's death held in *Sant'Alberto*, Rome, in October 2014, Vincenzo Mosca quoted canon 578 of the Code of Canon Law which says that

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[74] Even as late as 1907, the claim that the Carmelites were monks rather than friars was taken for granted: 'the enforced merging of all friars into one Order, though retaining their familiar names, under the authority of the supreme General; all monks, with the exception of the Carthusians, the Carmelites and the Trappists, into another', see Robert Hugh Benson, *Lord of the World* (London: Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons Ltd., 1907), 2.2.4.

[75] See Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 264-300.

> All must observe faithfully the mind and designs of the founders regarding the nature, purpose, spirit and character of the institute, which have been sanctioned by competent ecclesiastical authority, and its sound traditions, all of which constitute the patrimony of the same institute.

Papenbroeck's dossier addressed the question of the mind and designs of our founders by demonstrating the lack of historical evidence supporting the claim that Elijah founded the Carmelites while implicitly recognising the different foundational roles of Berthold I, Brocard and St Albert of Jerusalem. He also addressed the question of respecting the sound traditions of the Carmelites by demonstrating the unsound nature of the traditions associated with the Elijan succession, including the fabricated 'lives' of various first millennium Carmelite Saints and of the first three of the alleged Priors of Mount Carmel, Berthold I, Brocard and Cyril of Constantinople. In 1668, the historical credibility of the fabricated 'lives' of Berthold I and Cyril of Constantinople had been effectively undermined in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March. By identifying Berthold I with the Calabrian monk that Phocas encountered on Mount Carmel in 1185, Papenbroeck (see n. 47 of the dossier) both outlined a more credible understanding of the foundational role of Berthold and recognised that the Latin hermits could have been on Mount Carmel for about two decades before they received their Formula of Life from Albert.

Since Phocas would probably have mentioned it if the Calabrian monk he met had not also been Greek, and since that monk's settlement seems to have been close to the promontory rather than in the *'Ain es-Siah* valley, the identification with Berthold I should probably be considered unlikely.[76] More recent scholarship has also questioned the credibility of both the name 'Brocard' and the foundational role that has been attributed to him by some Carmelite traditions.[77] In 1746, the Bollandist dossier on Brocard by John van de Velde SJ questioned the reliability of the claims made about him by Carmelite writers because of the lack of any collaborating evidence.[78] Although the earliest extant texts of Albert's Formula of Life and of the Carmelite Rule of 1247 identify the leader of the hermits as 'B.',[79] the dossier quotes versions of these texts where

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[76] See ibid., 33.

[77] See ibid., 101, 108, 283.

[78] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 41:576-582; Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 276-282.

[79] See *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spiritualilty*, Institutum Carmelitanum, Textus et studia historica Carmelitana, 34 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2012), 345.

'Brocard' has been substituted. Papenbroeck and van de Velde may not have been aware that the documents in question had been modified in this way. The lack of any historical evidence to support the claims made about Berthold I and Brocard has meant that, unlike Papenbroeck, recent scholars do not presume that the early leaders of the Latin hermits on Mount Carmel had those names. Following the earliest extant texts of Albert's Formula of Life and of the Carmelite Rule of 1247, modern scholars generally refer to the leader of the hermits for whom the Formula of Life was written as 'B.' and they recognise only 'B.' and St Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem as the original founding figures of the Carmelites.

Thanks to Papenbroeck's dossier, the claim that the prophet Elijah founded the Carmelites has been recognised as lacking a credible foundation but the dossier's implicit recognition that Albert played a foundational role in the establishment of the Carmelites has not yet been universally accepted. Rather than acknowledging the evidence of the Carmelite Rule and Formula of Life, which present Albert and B. as the only credible candidates for the roles of founder, some propose the naïve and historically unacceptable position that the Carmelites have no founders. Others, apparently from unease that Albert was not himself a Carmelite, acknowledge only that he was the first legislator of the Order, which betrays a somewhat narrowly legalistic understanding of Albert's foundational role in drawing up the Carmelites' Formula of (common) Life.[80] There are, however, many Bishops who are recognised as the founders or co-founders of Religious Institutes, both male[81] and female,[82] of which they themselves were not members. There are also indications in the dossier (see n. 115) that Papenbroeck had some misgivings about whether the Carmelites had regarded themselves, and been regarded by others, as Religious in the period between the Formula of Life and the Carmelite Rule of 1247. For most contemporary writers, the Formula of Life is seen as establishing a lay form of life that was transformed into a particular form of Religious Life by the promulgation of Pope Innocent IV's Rule in that year. The Rule in question was a modification of Albert's Formula of Life, a document that acknowledges the contribution of the Latin hermits

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[80] See ibid., 349, 353.

[81] See, for example, Joannes Zwijsen, Bishop of Tilburg, who founded the Brothers of Our Lady, Mother of Mercy, in 1844, Philibert de Bruillard, Bishop of Grenoble, who founded the Missionaries of Our Lady of La Salette in 1852, and Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Bishop of Piacenza, who founded the Missionaries of St Charles Borromeo in 1887.

[82] See, for example, St Frances de Sales, Bishop of Geneva, who co-founded the Order of the Visitation of Holy Mary in 1610, Joannes Zwijsen, Bishop of Tilburg, who founded the Congregation of the Sisters of Charity, in 1832, and Donal Lamont O.Carm., Bishop of Umtali, who founded the Handmaids of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in 1959.

themselves, and B. in particular, in the form of their presumably verbally communicated 'proposed manner of life (*propositum*).'[83] The emergence of the Carmelites as a Religious Order, in other words, seems to have been initiated when B. and the other Latin hermits requested a written formula for their proposed form of communal eremitism, to have been given a definitive orientation by Albert's Formula of Life and to have been finally achieved only with the promulgation of the Rule of 1247.

I believe that Papenbroeck's dossier retains its significance for the Carmelite Order today and that it has a role to play in completing the work it began by restoring to the Order what would seem to be the ancient and original understanding of its origins, which I have just outlined, and of bringing our obscured co-founders, B. and Albert, out into the light of universal recognition.

Reading This Translation of Papenbroeck's Dossier.

Papenbroeck organised the 33 double-columned pages and 144 numbered sections of his Latin text into 13 chapters and a conclusion.

The literary form of the Bollandist dossiers, written in Latin, which was never the first language of their authors, and involving a closely argued and critical evaluation of the available historical material relating to particular saints, can present a daunting prospect for readers. In the case of this particular dossier, the controversial nature of the subject, annoyance caused by the way earlier dossiers on Carmelite Saints had been received and, perhaps, the frustration of having to revise the whole text on a number of occasions before it was considered sufficiently inoffensive for publication, has produced a text where Papenbroeck maintains a general tone of respectful restraint and dispassionate reasonableness but where, on occasion, his suppressed irritation also manifests itself. I believe that it was these occasions where a certain irritability manifested itself that the Jesuit General, Giovanni Paolo Oliva SJ, was concerned about when he described himself as being shocked by the inappropriate tone of the dossier.[84] As Bernard de Montfaucon OSB remarked about a different work of Papenbroeck's in 1696, he usually wrote 'with more judgement and solidity than politeness'.[85]

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[83] See Mullins O.Carm., *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spirituality*, 62-65, 157.

[84] See Joassart, "Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes," 170-171.

[85] See "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 111.

This translation is a translation of the Latin in the original text, predominantly in Latin but with some Greek and a few words in Italian, French and Spanish, which Papenbroeck printed in the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for April,[86] incorporating the modifications that are given in an appendix to that volume.[87] In general, Latin is a more succinct language than English and many of Papenbroeck's sentences include a number of qualifying phrases, making it difficult to break them down into the shorter sentences that are more common in modern English. Where possible, however, I have broken these long sentences into shorter units. Apart from those now best known in English by the English version of their first names, St Albert himself, for example, the names of individuals now best known by their names in their original language are given in that language. The original text has no notes and any footnotes in the translation are editorial. The original text is given in footnotes that are attached either to the numbers of the different sections or, in the case of the texts of the Albertine Rule (n. 44), to some of the Roman numerals that indicate the chapters of that document. The many revisions that were made of the text may explain what would seem to be the writer's rare errors[88] and any typographical errors,[89] along with the modifications made to the original text in the light of the changes indicated in the appendix to the volume, are indicated by footnotes to the English text at the appropriate points. I have also tried to identify the different texts and sources that are explicitly mentioned or otherwise alluded to in the original text, to clarify points that might be obscure to modern readers and to indicate those occasions where the position adopted by the dossier is at variance with more recent scholarship and I have indicated all of these by means of footnotes to the text at the relevant points. Papenbroeck presents his text in 13 chapters and a conclusion and he placed a running series of summarising comments in the margin alongside the text of each chapter (see, for example, the first page of the dossier, which is reproduced at the end of this introduction). Rather than attempting to match the way in which these comments are placed in the original, I have gathered the comments for each chapter together and presented them as

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[86] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):769-802.

[87] See ibid., 9 (Apr I):909-910.

[88] See, for example, the volume of the *Italia sacra* in n. 11, the reference to having mentioned something previously when he was, in fact, mentioning the matter in question for the first time in n. 34, the confusion between Willebrord and Willebrand in n. 59 and the reference to the 25th rather than to the 29th of March in n. 70.

[89] It is not clear whether the apparent errors in the use of italics to indicate quotations were those of the author or the printer.

a single, summarising paragraph at the beginning of each chapter. Direct quotations are in inverted commas and those of two or more lines are indented and in a smaller font than the main text.

Given the technical and often heavily nuanced nature of this kind of academic writing, I have tried, as far as possible, to represent as faithfully as possible the meaning of the original text in the English translation, using a paraphrase only when there seemed to be no significant reason to do otherwise. For the sake of a coherent English translation, however, I have sometimes inserted into the English translation words within square brackets that do not, as such, have equivalents in the original text.[90] Since the meaning intended by Papenbroeck is not always as self-evidently clear and it might be,[91] perhaps because he wants the reader to draw the obvious conclusion, rather than have it explicitly drawn by the writer,[92] I have also inserted a number of interpretative comments by means of footnotes that are designed to make clear to the reader what seems to be implied. Papenbroeck's overall approach in terms of the sensitive nature of the work is probably best summed up by his prayer in n. 43:

> May God, who is the most sincere truth and the most absolute charity, direct the manner of writing so that there is nothing different from the truth, that I will write nothing contrary to charity. May the same bring it about that those for whose sake I take up this labour, which has been turned aside for a long time and often, may thus flourish continually in their understanding so that, having repudiated the old and the new fictions (of which fictions a just accusation is that it is much more of their own pretence than any other arguments of the adversaries whatsoever that is detrimental), their understanding becoming more solid, if it could be done, they would progress on the way towards the required authentic unification of their traditions.

In keeping with the balanced nature of this statement of his intentions, the tone of the dossier is generally firm but respectful[93] and it does

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[90] See, for example, 'years of the' and 'further' in n. 5.

[91] See the claim that he does not want to reject the Elijan procession/succession at the beginning of n. 43, which is found in a context that reveals it to be a merely notional desire that, given the lack of proof, cannot be fulfilled. See also the implication at the end of n. 111 that both the alleged apparition to Pope Honorius III and the unusual form of address in Gregory IX's *Providi more* may not be authentic.

[92] See the end of n. 135.

[93] See, for example, the 'misled' towards the end of nn. 4 and 25, the reference to errors at the end of n. 30 and the final sentence of n. 42.

not shy away from forthright, and sometimes blunt, criticism,[94] possibly in deliberate imitation of the attitude of Jesus towards the false tradition championed by the Pharisees and Scribes (see Mk 7:6-13). This forthright approach is typical of Papenbroeck's writing and, commenting on the first volume of Papenbroeck's response to his alleged errors[95] soon after its publication in 1696, Bernard de Montfaucon OSB remarked that Papenbroeck wrote 'with more judgement and solidity than politeness'.[96] At other times, the dossier's approach to the less credible claims of some writers is to resort to irony, where what the writer seems to be saying is the opposite of what he actually thinks.[97] Just as the lack of visual or tonal cues can sometimes mean that the true tone of an email is misread by the one who receives it, the dossier's use of irony, although sometimes amusing,[98] can disorientate the reader by inviting confusion about what the dossier is really saying or giving the impression of sarcasm[99] and an inappropriate lack of sensitivity. The Jesuit General, Giovanni Paolo Oliva SJ, was shocked by what he described as its inappropriate tone.[100] The many revisions of the text that were needed before the dossier was considered sufficiently inoffensive for publication do not always disguise Papenbroeck's irritation because of the inventions of earlier Carmelite

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[94] See, for example, the reference to 'inferior, not very traditional, badly stitched together histories and most unreliably founded conjectural invention that was anachronistic and full of contradictions' in n. 9, the quotation concerning 'monstrous narratives' in n. 10, 'pretends', 'fiction' and 'builds a shapeless mass on this ruinous foundation of prolix fable' in n. 13, 'the weariness of a prolixity that is rich is fables' in n. 15, 'could not speak the truth without the admixture of something false' and 'deviate from the same truth altogether' in n. 30, 'engrossed with their prejudices' in n. 37, 'conquered by native malice alone' in n. 42, 'the steep ascents of gratuitous conjectures or the slippery slopes of uncertain traditions' in n. 46, 'untrustworthy little narratives' and 'deceitfully' in n. 49, 'This is Rhodes, This is the jump' in n. 84, 'with no right' and 'pretence' in n. 91, 'deceit' in n. 107, 'contrived patrons about to be absent and did not consign [their writings] to themselves' in n. 141, 'substituted authors fighting among themselves and also with the truth' in n. 142.

[95] See Papenbroeck SJ, *Responsio... ad exhibitionem errorum*.

[96] See Joassart, "Le dossier bollandien d'Albert de Jérusalem: La querelle des origines carmélitaines," 111.

[97] See, for example, the use of 'good faith' in n. 15, 'a writer so ancient that' in n. 30, the section between 'go so far, almost, to deny' and 'It is clear, indeed' in n. 42, 'their genius' in n. 75, 'we should not doubt further, you may be sure' in n. 135, 'a good man, for which reason I believe that' in n. 138 and 'O, you unhappy one!' and 'You unhappy one also!' and 'ungrateful France' in n. 140.

[98] See, for example, the comments about the Indulgences granted to the Carmelites by Popes who never existed in n. 101.

[99] See, for example, the 'which are easily proved to be deserving of the highest trustworthiness' towards the end of n. 9 and the 'hiatus, of twenty centuries, perhaps' in n. 69.

[100] See Joassart, "Jean-Paul Oliva, Charles de Noyelle et les Bollandistes d'après les archives bollandiennes," 170-171.

writers[101] or his resentment because of the rejection by some Carmelites of even the most mild criticism of their traditions.[102] In order to assist the reader who might not immediately recognise the ironic nature of some comments, I have indicated by means of footnotes those places where it seems to me that the apparent sense of the text should not be taken as indicating the true intentions of the writer.

[101] See the reference to the Carmelites wanting to considered among the 'First Ancestors' of the Religious Life in n. 66.

[102] See, for example, 'concerning which we who work by night have also put in motion a somewhat obscure study of the arguments needing to be rebutted' and of 'whatever one might wish to have offered is not agreeable or useful' in n. 10 and the reference to being 'unwelcome' to the Carmelites in n. 66.

OCTAVA APRILIS. 769

DE BEATO ALBERTO

EX CANONICO REGVLARI EPISCOPO PRIMVM VERCELLENSI, DEIN PATRIARCHA HIEROSOLYMITANO, LEGATO APOSTOLICO, ET LEGISLATORE ORDINIS CARMELITICI. D.P.

CAPUT I.

Vita B. Alberti ante Patriarchatum ex Monumentis ecclesiæ Vercellensis.

A.H.MCCXIV

HVc virum tam multis tamque magnis titulis, sed pluribus majoribusque virtutibus insignem, neque Canonici Regulares, quorum professus est institutum; neque Vercellenses, quibus Episcopus præfuit; sed Carmeliticum Ordo Ecclesiastus Officii cultu honorandum instituit, & solus hactenus cum colere perseverat: idque ad hunc diem VIII Aprilis sub ritu Duplicis. Nempe mortuus ac sepultus peregre, nihil habuit in Europa, cujus præsentia excitaret populorum devotionem; & ad quod in suis necessitatibus recurrentes fideles, ipsa miraculorum evidentia inducerentur ad publicam ei venerationem decernendam, in Regularium ecclesia aliqua, aut in ea quam dimiserat Cathedrali. Ast vero sacer ille Ordo nec debuit nec potuit oblivisci perpetuum Alberti erga se beneficium, cujus respectu obtinuit, ut inter Ordines vitæ approbatos ab Ecclesia Romana numeraretur. Sed qua ad diem, modum & originem cultus illius pertinent, infra explicabuntur commodius: primum illius fundamentum, eximiam scilicet vita sanctimoniam morte sanctissima confirmatam, aggredior explicare, ipsis verbis antiquissimarum membranarum, ex Archivio Vercellensi acceptarum, & testimoniis certorum atque authenticorum ejus quo floruit ævi documentorum.

Qui apud Carmelitas colitur Albertus Patriarcha

B

juxta tabulas Eccl. Vercellen.

2 Decimo octavo kalendas Octobris, MCCXIV, Indictione II, præsenti die, de carnis ergastulo egressus est felicis memoriæ Venerabilis Pater & Dominus Albertus, Hierosolymitanus Patriarcha, hujus Ecclesiæ quondam Episcopus, Deo & hominibus dilectus: cujus suavitatis memoriam eructare, licet minus idonei & sufficientes simus, ne tamen viri tanti claritudo, per taciturnitatis desidiam, generationis venturæ in oblivionem deveniat; pauca de vita, moribus, actibus & fine glorioso ipsius summatim perstricta huic paginæ duximus inserenda. Fuit igitur vir Domini memoratus de Castro-Gualterii Parmensis diœcesis, nobili prosapia ortus: qui ab incuntis ætatis suæ primordiis litterali militiæ manciparus, in liberalibus disciplinis & humanarum legum scientia coævos suos brevi tempore anteceſſit. Ceterum ne inquinaretur à pice si tangeret eam, valefacto mundo & pompis ejus, ad ecclesiam Mortariensem, tamquam ad salutis portum, cum parentibus confugit: ubi cum jam regularibus disciplinis divinæ legis intelligentia non modicum fuisset instructus, atque in Priorem ipsius Ecclesiæ electus, ne lucerna ejus amplius sub modio tegeretur, sed in domo Domini super candelabrum exaltata ceteros illustraret, de ipso Prioratu ad regimen Bobiensis Episcopatus fuit violenter abductus. Inde, paucis evolutis annis, antequam consecrationis munus reciperet, cum ingenti alacritate Cleri & populi, postulatus in Episcopum Ecclesiæ Vercellensis: quam per viginti fere annorum curricula viriliter gubernans, tam spiritualium quam temporalium profectu, mirabiliter augmentavit.

in agro Parmensi natus,

C

Canonicus Regularis Mortarii,

Bobii electus,

Vercellis creatus Episcopus est.

3 Hactenus fideli & (quantum ex ipso contextu colligere licet) coævo scriptor Vitæ, quam verbis, minus quidem elegantibus, fide tamen dignissimis, in Ecclesiæ tabulis commemoratam reperisse se profitetur Ioannes Stephanus Ferrerius Vercellensis Episcopus, in tractatu quem de Vita & rebus gestis S. Eusebii Vercellensis Episcopi ac successorum ejus, Clementi XIII Pontifici Maximo inscripsit, & anno MDCII Romæ publicavit. Addit autem idem Ferrerius, postquam de B. Alberto Episcopo LXXII ogn à pag. 177 ad pag. 185, ipsam hanc Vitam se eo libentius reddere, quod undequaque illustrem Apostolicumque virum ostendat. Idem nos facimus, eoque etiam confidentius, quod Ludovicus de S. Teresa Carmelita Discalceatus, Provinciæ Franciæ primus Definitor, solam hanc vitam dignam existimarit, quam in Italia sacra Vghelli repertam, Gallice redderet cap. 215 operis sui de Successione Eliana, impressi Parisiis anno 1662, quamvis eam videret tam esse à receptis in suo ordine narrationibus diversam, quam ipsa & inter se & à tessissima indubitabilium auctoritatum discrepant veritate.

Probant eas tabulas etiam Carmelita.

E

4 Prius autem quam ad reliquam prælibata epitomes seriem progredimur, illustrabo paucis partem priorem, simul & confirmabo illius certitudinem. Mortaria, Paduam inter & Vercellas oppido haud ignobili, adjacet vicinum sanctæ Crucis monasterium, ab Adamo Mortariensi Clerico, uti Pennottus lib. 2 cap. 46 docet, ædificatum circa annum MLXXX, & triennio post Regularibus attributum; successu tam prospero, ut ante annum MCXXXIV eidem subjectas fuisse ecclesias quatuordecim, Præpositura aut Prioratu titulo insignes, constet ex Innocentii II diplomate. Fuit autem hoc monasterium caput totius Ordinis, ab ipso Mortariensis dicti; adeoque Albertus, non tantum Prior fuit, sed Prior seu Præpositus Generalis, quomodo in scripturis publicis appellatos Pennottus ait eos, qui idem quod ipse munus gesserunt. Illustriores aliquot idem enumerat, quorum, inquit, omnium mentio fit in antiquis scripturis prædicti monasterii: sed hallucinatur, cum duos lectori Albertos distinguit, alterum Hierosolymitanum Patriarcham, alterum Episcopum Vercellensem; unus enim idemque est, qui quando monasterium istud regere cæperit, optaremus ex allegatis scripturis definitius cognoscere.

Fuit monasterium S. Crucis Mortariæ caput Ordinis;

F

5 Credibile est haud dia post annum MCLXXX id factum: quippe Bobiensi Episcopatui (distat autem Mortaria Babium P. M. circiter 60) vacanti per mortem Gandulphi, anno MCLXXXIV electus Præsul Albertus fuit: qui mox à sua electione, deprehendens S. Columbani Abbatem & monachos, contra sententiam in Oglerii Episcopi favorem latam ab Eugenio III, sese subterrahere jurisdictioni Episcopali, præceptum contra eos obtinuit à Lucio III, prout fusa magnat Honorius III in ejusdem Præcepti confirmatione, anno MCCXXVIII expedita: quam apud Vghellum in Bobiensibus integram vide, sed quoad numeros Pontificatus & inductionis à transcribentibus vitiatam corrige, & annum Pontificatus II, Indictionem IV lege. Ibi quondam Hierosolymitanus Patriarcha, tunc autem, cum Lucii fulcire daretur rescriptum, Electus Bobiensis, haud aliter intelligi potest quam Albertus, non diu post ipsam electionem, ejusdem Lucii assensu, ad Vercellensem Cathedram translatus, annum ætatis agens forsitan XXXV: siquidem anno post id vigesimo, nulla grandioris ætatis excusatione pretensa, in Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum petitus, & datus petentibus fuit. Sed de hoc infra.

Prior factus sub an. 1180,

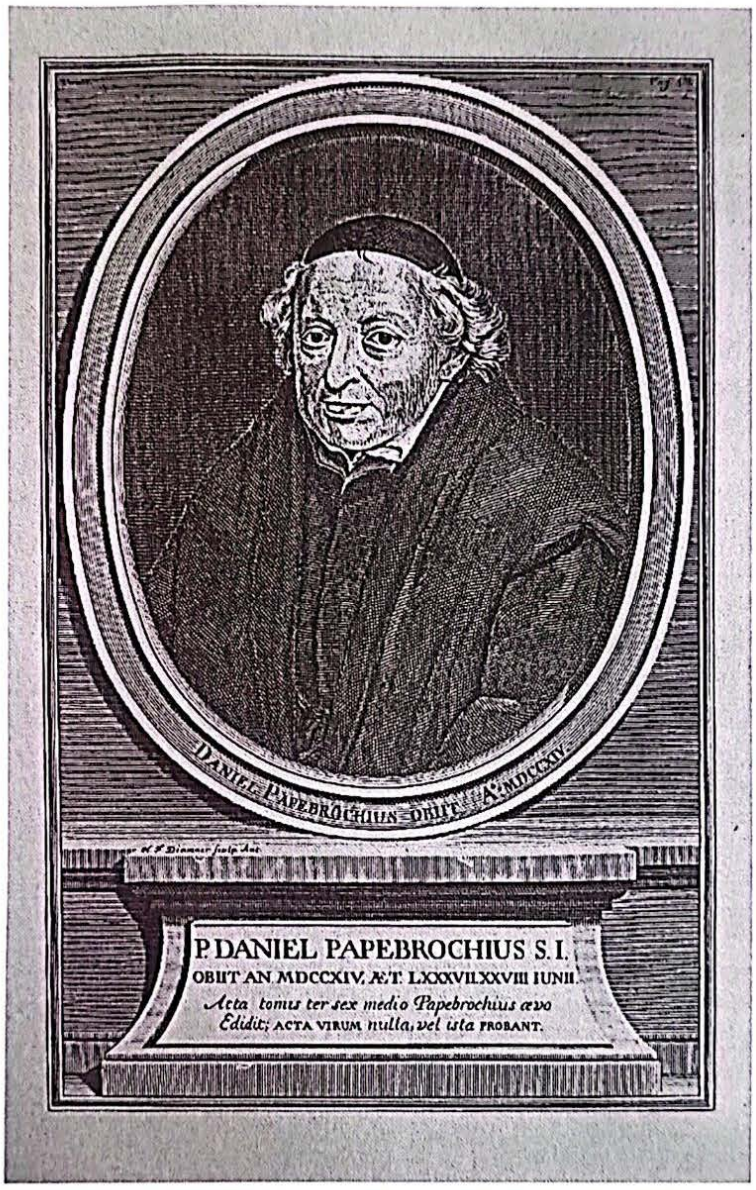
consecratus Episcopus an. 1184,

ætatis suæ circ. 35.

The first page of the Bollandist dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem.[103]

[103] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):769.

Concerning Blessed Albert,
from a Canon Regular to, first Bishop of Vercelli, then
Patriarch of Jerusalem, Apostolic Legate
and Legislator of the Carmelite Order, the Year 1214.[104]



The image of Daniel Papenbroeck SJ at the beginning of his 1715 obituary in the *Acta Sanctorum*.[105]

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[104] *DE BEATO ALBERTO EX CANONICO REGVLARI EPISCOPO PRIMVM VERCELLENSI, DEIN PATRIARCHA HIEROSOLYMITANO, LEGATO APOSTOLICO, ET LEGISLATORE ORDINIS CARMELITICI. Ann. MCCXIV.*

[105] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 25 (Jun VI/I):1.

Chapter 1

The Life of Bl. Albert before His Patriarchate, from the Record of the Diocese of Vercelli.[1]

In what manner Patriarch Albert is honoured among the Carmelites according to the writings of the diocese of Vercelli. Born in the territory of Parma, a Canon Regular of Mortara, Bishop-elect of Bobbio, he was created Bishop of Vercelli. The Carmelite writings also prove these things. The monastery of the Holy Cross of Mortara was the principal monastery of the Order, whose Prior that one [Albert] was made by the year 1180,[2] consecrated Bishop in the year 1184,[3] about the 35th year of his age. He shines with virtues; he unites the diocese well in the year 1186, frees a possessed woman in the year 1189, defends his rights in the year 1190, is the mediator between the Church and the Empire, is named a Prince of the Sacred Empire in the year 1191, convenes a Synod in the year 1192, obtains possession of tithes in the year 1194, wins a disputed case in the year 1196, in the year 1199, he reconciles a schism and makes an invalid election null and void, he pronounces judgment for Milan in the year 1201.[4]

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[1] CAPUT 1. Vita B. Alberti ante Patriarchatum ex Monumentis ecclesiæ Vercellensis.

[2] Many accept this date, see Francesco Pezza, *L'Ordine Mortariense e l'abbazia mitrata di S. Croce* (Mortara: Tipografia Angelo Monchietti, 1923), 90-92; Luigi Maria Loschiavo, *Da Mortara a Fregionaia Annali dal 1083 all 1402. Una ricerca per la storia dei canonici regolari lateranensi* (Naples: Tipolito Russo, 1985), 124, 126; Laura Minghetti, "Alberto Vescovo di Vercelli (1185-1205). Contributo per una biografia," *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche*, 59 (1985), 267-304: 268. Since Mosca considers it probable that Albert is the Prior of Mortara mentioned in a document recorded in the registers as dating between 1166 and 1178, the more likely date is 1178, see Vincenzo Mosca O.Carm., *Alberto Patriarca di Gerusalemme: Tempo -Vita - Opera* (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), 176 n. 25.

[3] Having become bishop-elect of Bobbio in 1184, Albert was consecrated as Bishop of Vercelli in 1185.

[4] As noted in the introduction, Papenbroeck placed a running series of summarising comments in the margin alongside the text of each chapter. Here, and in the following chapters, these comments are placed at the beginning of the chapter and the original Latin text of such comments is given as a footnote: *Qui apud Carmelitas colitur Albertus Patri-*

1.[5] Neither the Canons Regular, whose institute he professed, nor the people of Vercelli, over whom he presided as Bishop, instituted Ecclesiastical Offices for honouring by means of a cult this man who was endowed with so many and such great titles by men, but with even more and greater virtues. This was done, rather, by the Carmelite Order and, up until now, it alone has persevered in honouring him and that cult is celebrated on this day, April 8th, under a rite with the status of a double feast.[6] To be sure, having died and been buried abroad, there was nothing in Europe whose presence might have aroused the devotion of the peoples and to which the faithful might have had recourse in their difficulties, no discernible evidence of miracles that might have induced them to public veneration of him in some church of the Regulars, or in that Cathedral church which he had left behind. Yet, indeed, that holy Order could neither have doubted nor forgotten the perpetual benefice of Albert towards it, in respect of whom it obtained that it was numbered among the Orders formally approved by the Roman Church. But those things concerning the day, manner and origin of that cult will be explained more appropriately below. In the first place, I will address its foundation, namely to set forth the extraordinary sanctity

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archa juxta tabulas Eccl. Vercellen. in agro Parmensi natus, Canonicus Regularis Mortariæ, Bobii electus, Vercellis creatus Episcopus est. Probant eas tabulas etiam Carmelitæ. Fuit monasterium S. Crucis Mortariæ caput Ordinis; cujus ille Prior factus sub an. 1180, consecratur Episcopus an. 1184, ætati suæ circ. 35; *clarescit virtutibus, ecclesiæ bene consulit an. 1186, energumenam liberat an. 1189, jus suum tuetur an. 1190, mediator inter Ecclesiam & Imperium, appellatur Princeps S. I. anno 1191, Synodum cogit an. 1192, decimas obtinet anno 1194, lite vincit an. 1196, an. 1199 dissidia componit, & cassat electionem vitiosam, an. 1201 jus dicit Mediolani.*

[5] [1] *Hvnc virum tam multis tamque magnis titulis, sed pluribus majoribusque virtutibus insignem, neque Canonici Regulares, quorum professus est institutum; neque Vercellenses, quibus Episcopus præfuit; sed Carmeliticus Ordo Ecclesiastici Officii cultu honorandum instituit, & solus hactenus eum colere perseverat: idque ad hunc diem* VIII *Aprilis sub ritu Duplicis. Nempe mortuus ac sepultus peregre, nihil habuit in Europa, cujus præsentia excitaret populorum devotionem; & ad quod in suis neceßitatibus recurrentes fideles, ipsa miraculorum evidentia inducerentur ad publicam ei venerationem decernendam, in Regularium ecclesia aliqua, aut in ea quam dimiserat Cathedrali. Ast vero sacer ille Ordo nec debuit nec potuit oblivisci perpetuum Alberti erga se beneficium, cujus respectu obtinuit, ut inter Ordines rite approbatos ab Ecclesia Romana numeraretur. Sed quæ ad diem, modum & originem cultus istius pertinent, infra explicabuntur commodius: primum illius fundamentum, eximiam scilicet vitæ sanctimoniam morte sanctißima confirmatam, aggredior explicare, ipsis verbis antiquißimarum membranarum, ex Archivio Vercellensi acceptarum, & testimoniis certorum atque authenticorum ejus quo floruit ævi documentorum.*

[6] Unlike simple feasts and commemorations, the feasts designated as doubles were subdivided into those of 1st and 2nd class, each of which could be either greater or lesser. These categories made it easy to determine which feast took precedence if more than one fell on the same day.

of life confirmed by a most holy death in the very words of the most ancient parchments taken from the Vercelli Archives and in the certain and authentic testimonies of him of the documents of the age in which he flourished.

2.[7]

On the 17th day counting back from the calends of October,[8] in the 1,214th year of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ, the second year of the fifteen-year cycle.[9] On the present day, our venerable father and lord, Albert, the patriarch of Jerusalem, at one time Bishop of this church, came forth from the penitentiary of the flesh.[10] A man loved by God and by people, the memory of whose sweetness even the less suitable or sufficient are, nevertheless, permitted to utter. Lest the reputation of such a man might pass into oblivion for the future generation through the slothfulness of silence, on this page we have ordered a few things written out briefly concerning [his] life – introducing his customs, his acts and his glorious end to be inserted. He was, therefore, a renowned man of the Lord from *Castrum Gualterii*[11] in the diocese of Par-

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[7] [2] *Decimo octavo kalendas Octobris, MCCXIV, Indictione II, præsenti die, de carnis ergastulo egressus est felicis memoriæ Venerabilis Pater & Dominus Albertus, Hierosolymitanus Patriarcha, hujus Ecclesiæ quondam Episcopus, Deo & hominibus dilectus: cujus suavitatis memoriam eructare, licet minus idonei & sufficientes simus, ne tamen viri tanti claritudo, per taciturnitatis desidiam, generationis venturæ in oblivionem deveniat; pauca de vita, moribus, actibus & fine glorioso ipsius summatim perstricta huic paginæ duximus inserenda. Fuit igitur vir Domini memoratus de Castro-Gualterii Parmensis diœcesis, nobili prosapia ortus: qui ab ineuntis ætatis suæ primordiis litterali militiæ mancipatus, in liberalibus disciplinis & humanarum legum scientia coævos suos brevi tempore antecessit. Ceterum ne inquinaretur a pice si tangeret eam, valefacto mundo & pompis ejus, ad ecclesiam Mortariensem, tamquam ad salutis portum, cum parentibus confugit: ubi cum jam regularibus disciplinis divinæ legis intelligentia non modicum fuisset instructus, atque in Priorem ipsius Ecclesiæ electus, ne lucerna ejus amplius sub modio tegeretur, sed in domo Domini super candelabrum exaltata ceteros illustraret, de ipso Prioratu ad regimen Bobiensis Episcopatus fuit violenter abductus. Inde, paucis evolutis annis, antequam consecrationis munus reciperet, cum ingenti alacritate Cleri & populi, postulatus in Episcopum Ecclesiæ Vercellensis: quam per viginti fere annorum curricula viriliter gubernans, tam spiritualium quam temporalium profectu, mirabiliter augmentavit.*

[8] In our modern calendar, September 14th.

[9] These fifteen-year cycles measured the number of years of the reigning monarch and the first year of the first fifteen-year cycle began on the day of their coronation. Since king Otto IV of Italy was succeeded by King Frederick II (1212-50) on December 9th 1212, the second year of the first 15-year cycle began on December 9th 1213 and ended on December 9th 1214.

[10] In other words, he died.

[11] This Latin placename is not translated here. Often interpreted as referring either to the Italian placenames, Castel Gualterii or Gualtieri, which is near the river Po, or Gual-

> ma sprung from noble stock. From his earliest years, having been assigned to a writing profession, he quickly outshone his peers in the liberal arts and in the knowledge of human laws. But yet, if it touched him, he was not defiled by the prominence: Having said goodbye to the world and its public shows, together with [his] parents, he took refuge in the church of [the canons of] Mortara as though it were the door of salvation, where, since he had already been instructed to a significant degree by regular disciplines and the understanding of divine law, and having been chosen as prior of that church, lest his light be further hidden under a bushel, but so that, raised up on a lampstand in the house of the Lord, it might give light to the others, he was violently taken away from the same priorship to the government of the episcopacy of Bobbio. Whence, a few years having passed before he could receive the office of consecration – with great speed he was postulated by the clergy and people as the bishop of the church of Vercelli in which, governing courageously during the course of almost ... twenty ... years, he marvellously increased it by both spiritual and temporal growth.[12]

3.[13] Up to this point, in the tract dedicated to Pope Clement VIII, and which he published in Rome in 1602 concerning the Life and the things done by Bishop St Eusebius of Vercelli and his successors,[14] the

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tirolo, which is about 18 km to the South, both places being designated in Latin as *Castrum Gualterii*, recent studies suggest that it was the region including both these castles that was intended and that the exact location was probably the residence of the diocesan advocate on the lands known later as the traditional *avogadria* of the Parma diocese.

[12] This quotation is taken from the ancient necrologies of the diocese of Vercelli that Papenbroeck described (n. 1) as 'the very words of the most ancient parchments taken from the Vercelli Archives'. From this point onwards, he will refer to this source as the 'Life'.

[13] [3] *Hactenus fidelis & (quantum ex ipso contextu colligere licet) coævus scriptor Vitæ, quam verbis, minus quidem elegantibus, fide tamen dignissimis, in Ecclesiæ tabulis commemoratam reperisse se profitetur Ioannes Stephanus Ferrerius Vercellensis Episcopus, in tractatu quem de Vita & rebus gestis S. Eusebii Vercellensis Episcopi ac successorum ejus, Clementi VIII Pontifici Maximo inscripsit, & anno MDCII Romæ publicavit. Addit autem idem Ferrerius, postquam de B. Alberto Episcopo LXXII egit a pag. 177 ad pag. 185, ipsam hanc Vitam se eo libentius reddere, quod undequaque illustrem Apostolicumque virum ostendat. Idem nos facimus, eoque etiam confidentius, quod Ludovicus de S. Teresa Carmelita Discalceatus, Provinciæ primus Definitor, solam hanc vitam dignam existimarit, quam in Italia sacra Vghelli repertam, Gallice redderet cap. 215 operis sui de Succeßione Eliana, impreßi Parisiis anno 1662, quamvis eam videret tam esse a receptis in suo ordine narrationibus diversam, quam ipsæ & inter se & a testatißima indubitabilium auctoritatum discrepant veritate.*

[14] See Johannes Stephanus Ferrerius (Ferrero), *Sancti Eusebii Vercellensis episcopi et martyris eiusque in episcopatum successorum vitae et res gestae* (Rome: Apud Aloysium Zannettum, 1602).

faithful and (in so far as it is permitted to understand from the very context) contemporary[15] writer, Bishop John Stephen Ferrero of Vercelli, acknowledges the already mentioned Life[16] which, in less elegant words, indeed, but most worthy of trust, nevertheless, is to be found in the records of the diocese. Afterwards, however, the same Ferrero adds a section running from page 177 to page 185[17] concerning Bl. Albert, the 72nd Bishop. There, he edits that same Life[18] more freely so that, in different ways, it demonstrates the illustrious and Apostolic side of the man. We do the same thing and, in doing so, we are also more confident because,[19] in chapter 215 of the French edition of his work concerning the Elijan Succession, printed in Paris in 1662,[20] the Discalced Carmelite, Louis de Sainte Thérèse, first Definitor of the Province, considered that Life which is found in the *Italia sacra* of Ughelli[21] the only worthy one, although that version is not only seen to be different from what was accepted in the narratives in his Order, which also differed from that very Life[22] and among themselves, but which also differed from the most manifest truth of the indubitable authorities.

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[15] Here, Papenbroeck seems to be using the word contemporary with reference to himself, rather than with reference to Albert. Since Bishop John Stephen Ferrero of Vercelli died in 1610 and Papenbroeck was born in 1628, there were, indeed, almost contemporaries.

[16] This refers to the Vercelli Archives Life of Albert.

[17] See Ferrerius (Ferrero), *Sancti Eusebii Vercellensis*, 177-185.

[18] This refers to the Vercelli Archives Life of Albert.

[19] The point being made by Papenbroeck would seem to be that, since others have cited different versions of Albert's life as more or less authoritative and have defended one version against another, he feels free to do the same.

[20] See Louis de Ste Thérèse OCD, *La succession du saint prophet Elie en l'ordre des Carmes et en la reforme de Sainte Terese selon l'ordre chronologique* (Paris: Guillaume Tassier, 1662).

[21] See Ferdinando Ughelli, ed. *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiæ et insularum adjacentium, rebusque ab iis præclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram usque ætatem*, 9 vols. (Rome: Sumptibus Blasii Deversin & Zenobii Masotti, 1643-62), 4:1086-1100.

[22] In the context, this would seem to refer to Ferrero's version of the Life.

4.[23] However, before we move on to the remaining series of the aforesaid abridgements,[24] I will illustrate the first part of some of them and, at the same time, I will confirm their certitude. The monastery of the Holy Cross, built about the year 1130 by Adam, a cleric of Mortara, and assigned to the Regulars[25] three years later, as Pennotto teaches in book 2, chapter 46,[26] lay near to Mortara, a by no means obscure town between Padua and Vercelli. According to the letters of Innocent II, the monastery prospered with so much success that, fourteen churches having become subject to it before the year 1134, they received the distinguished title of a Provosture or Priory. That monastery was, however, the head of the whole Order, which was called Mortara on account of it. And of this monastery, Albert was not only the Prior, but the Prior or Provost General,[27] since Pennotto says that those who held the very office that the same one [Albert] held were called by that title in public writings.[28] He lists some of the most illustrious of the same whom, he says, are all mentioned in the ancient writings of the same monastery. But, since two Alberts are distinguished by this reader,[29] one the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the other the Bishop of Vercelli,[30] he is misled, inasmuch as

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[23] [4] *Prius autem quam ad reliquam prælibatæ epitomes seriem progredimur, illustrabo paucis partem priorem, simul & confirmabo illius certitudinem. Mortariæ, Paduam inter & Vercellas oppido haud ignobili, adjacet vicinum sanctæ Crucis monasterium, ab Adamo Mortariensi Clerico, uti Pennottus lib. 2 cap. 46 docet, ædificatum circa annum MLXXX, & triennio post Regularibus attributum; successu tam prospero, ut ante annum MCXXXIV eidem subjectas fuisse ecclesias quatuordecim, Præposituræ aut Prioratus titulo insignes, constet ex Innocentit II diplomate. Fuit autem hoc monasterium caput totius Ordinis, ab ipso Mortariensis dicti; adeoque Albertus, non tantum Prior fuit, sed Prior seu Præpositus Generalis, quomodo in scripturis publicis appellatos Pennottus ait eos, qui idem quod ipse munus gesserunt. Illustriores aliquot idem enumerat, quorum, inquit, omnium mentio fit in antiquis scripturis prædicti monasterii: sed hallucinatur, cum duos lectori Albertos distinguit, alterum Hierosolymitanum Patriarcham, alterum Episcopum Vercellensem; unus enim idemque est, qui quando monasterium istud regere cœperit, optaremus ex allegatis scripturis definitius cognoscere.*

[24] This refers to the edited version of the Life mentioned towards the end of n. 3.

[25] This refers to the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross of Mortara.

[26] See Gabriele Pennotto, *Generalis totius sacri ordinis clericorvm canonicorvm historia tripartita; cuius in prima parte de clericali sanctissimi P. Avgvstini instituto, & habitu; in secunda de origine, procursuq. totius ordinis canonicorum regularium; in tertia de congr. canonic. Saluatoris Lateraneñ locupletissime disseritur* (Rome: Ex typographia Camerae apostolicae, 1624), 448.

[27] Although Albert was Prior of the mother house in Mortara from 1178 to 1185, Pennotto's claim that Albert was Prior or Provost General is now generally rejected.

[28] See Pennotto, *Generalis totius sacri ordinis clericorvm canonicorvm historia tripartita*, 448.

[29] The reader in question is Pennotto.

[30] See Pennotto, *Generalis totius sacri ordinis clericorvm canonicorvm historia tripartita*, 449-450.

we would want to recognise as having been more clearly established out of the previously mentioned writings that he who had begun to rule that monastery is one and the same.

5.[31] It is hardly credible that this was done a long time after the year 1180 if, indeed, being called to the episcopacy of Bobbio (Mortara, however, is about 60 miles from Bobbio) by means of the death of Gandulf, Albert was the prelate elect in the year 1184. Discovering soon after his election that, contrary to the judgement given in favour of Bishop Oglierio by Eugene III, the abbot and monks of St Columbanus had withdrawn themselves from Episcopal jurisdiction, he obtained a precept against them from Lucius III, just as Honorius III narrates at length in the confirmation of the same precept, released in the year 1228, which you see in its entirety among [the documents concerning] the bishops of Bobbio in Ughelli but which corruption you correct according to the numbers of the [years of the] Pontificate and the transcriptions of the fifteen-year cycle and read as the second year of the Pontificate, the fourth year of the fifteen-year cycle. In that place 'the one-time Patriarch of Jerusalem', now, however - that is, with the rescript of Lucius - is given as 'the Elect of Bobbio'. It can hardly be understood otherwise than that Albert, not long after the same election, with the assent of the same Lucius, was translated to the episcopal see of Vercelli, during the 35th year of his age, perhaps, if indeed it was in the twentieth year following this that, with no pretence of the excuse of greater age, having been sought as the Patriarch of Jerusalem and, having granted what the petitioners sought, he went. But concerning this, [further] below.

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[31] [5] *Credibile est haud diu post annum MCLXXX id factum: siquidem Bobiensi Episcopatui (distat autem Mortaria Bobium P. M. circiter 60) vacanti per mortem Gandulphi, anno MCLXXXIV electus Præsul Albertus fuit: qui mox a sua electione, deprehendens S. Columbani Abbatem & monachos, contra sententiam in Oglierii Episcopi favorem latam ab Eugenio III, sese subtrahere jurisdictioni Episcopali; præceptum contra eos obtinuit a Lucio III; prout fuse narrat Honorius III in ejusdem Præcepti confirmatione, anno MCCXXVIII expedita: quam apud Vghellum in Bobiensibus integram vide, sed quoad numeros Pontificatus & indictionis a transcribentibus vitiatam corrige, & annum Pontificatus II, Indictionem IV lege. Ibi quondam Hierosolymitanus Patriarcha, tunc autem, cum Lucii scilicet daretur rescriptum, Electus Bobiensis, haud alius intelligi potest quam Albertus, non diu post ipsam electionem, ejusdem Lucii assensu, ad Vercellensem Cathedram translatus, annum ætatis agens forsitan XXXV: siquidem anno post id vigesimo, nulla grandioris ætatis excusatione prætensa, in Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum petitus, & datus petentibus fuit. Sed de hoc infra.*

6.[32] I return to the Life[33] in the manuscript where, following after the praise of the diocese having been augmented marvellously both in spiritual and temporal matters, [it describes] the one accumulating these praises:

> For, since he was humble in dress, sparing in his eating, most chaste in body, generous in giving alms, assiduous in the divine office, most eloquent in preaching, by word and example he set right the morals of the clerics and the laity in a wonderful way and he led them towards the fruit of a better life. And since, in the profound sense, he was prudent in counsel, most splendid in speech, constant in his action and an expert in both [civil and canon] laws, he liberated that church as quickly as possible from a great alien cloud, increased its possessions, constructed buildings and defended its unimpaired rights.

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[32] [6] *Ad Vitam redeo Ms. ubi laus ecclesiæ tam in spiritualibus quam temporalibus mirabiliter augmentatæ, his deinde encomiis cumulator. Cum enim esset humilis in habitu, parcus in victu, corpore castissimus, in eleemosynis largus, in officiis divinis assiduus, in prædicatione facundissimus; Clericorum & laicorum mores, verbo & exemplo, miro modo composuit, & ad frugem melioris vitæ adduxit. Cumque sensu profundus esset, consilio providus, sermone splendidissimus, constans in actu, & in utroque Jure peritus; a grandi ære alieno ipsam ecclesiam quantocius liberavit, possessiones auxit, ædificia construxit, & jura illibata defendit. Ejus meritorum intuitu, inquit Vghellus in Vercellensibus Col. tomi 4. Urbanus III Vercellensem Ecclesiam in protectionem suscepit anno MCLXXXVI. Clemente autem III Pontifice, post Hierosolymitan regnum a Saladino Christianis ademptum, id est, anno MCLXXXIX, ait claruisse insigne miraculum, in emendationem cujusdam Parmensium Dominæ celebratum, quæ fuerat a quinque dæmonibus obsessa, dieque Octavæ S. Eusebii, meritis ejusdem Sancti, Alberto Episcopo exorcizante, liberata, legitur in Veteri kalendario Vercellensis Ecclesiæ. Ita Vghellus, ipsis fere Ferrerii Episcopi verbis, qui documenta sibi visa allegat, & de miraculo addit ipsum præterea legi in tabulis ejusdem Ecclesiæ longissima narratione: quam narrationem utinam nobis describat mittatque aliquis, die 1 Augusti dandam, post sancti istius Episcopi & gloriosi Martyris Acta! Interim damus Synopsim rei qualem accepimus ab Illustriss. Marco Aurelio Cusano Provicario & Canonico Vercelensi. Quædam Principissa Parmensis, dum quinque spiritibus infernalibus obsideretur, iique per exorcismos exire juberentur, & negative respondissent, etiamsi interesset auctoritas Eusebii Martyris Episcopi Vercellensis; ea suggestione attenta, ipsa Principissa voluit præsentari ad sepulcrum S. Eusebii in Cathedrali ecclesia Vercellensi; ibique per exorcismos, opera tamen Episcopi Alberti, liberata ad patriam rediit. Ubi non multo post, dum noviter consensit, quatenus maritus proprius etiam recidivus incestuosam vitam viveret; denuo talibus spiritibus immundis vexata & Vercellas reversa, adhuc precatur Episcopum Albertum, quatenus dignaretur manum apponere, sicque liberam dimittere: & ita felix exitus probavit, dum per ipsum liberata recessit. Hæc vero tot gratiis cumulata, ne ingrati animi vitio notaretur, erigi curavit pretiosum suggestum sive ambonem, sacris marmoreis figuris contextum... hæc ipsa Principissa, nolens amplius reverti ad patriam, sed perpetuo vitam ducere prope sacras ædes S. Eusebii, mandavit inibi erigendum claustriolum, ubi ævo protracto animam Christo Domino reddidit.*

[33] This refers to the Vercelli Archives Life of Albert.

'Having recognised his merits', says Ughelli in the section on the Bishops of Vercelli in tome 4,[34]

> ... Urban III took the diocese of Vercelli under his protection in the year 1186. When Clement III was Pope, however, after the kingdom of Jerusalem was taken from the Christians by Saladin ...

that is, in the year 1189, he says

> ... a notable miracle became evident, celebrated in the healing of a certain Lady from Parma who had been possessed by five demons, and was liberated on the day of the Octave of St Eusebius, by the merits of the same Saint, Bishop Albert being the exorcist, as can be read in the Old Calendar of the Diocese of Vercelli.[35]

Thus Ughelli, in almost the same words of Bishop Ferrero, who alleges that the documents were seen by him and, moreover, adds that a very long narrative concerning the same miracle is to be read in the writings of the same Diocese. If only, in addition to the Acts of that holy Bishop and glorious Martyr [Eusebius], someone transcribed and might have sent that narrative to us, giving the day as August 1st. In the meantime, we give a Synopsis of the event such as we receive it from the most distinguished Marco Aurelio Cusano, the Provicar and Canon of Vercelli:

> A certain Princess from Parma was possessed by five infernal spirits. And, while they were being ordered to come out of her by means of exorcisms, they responded negatively, saying that they would not do so even if the authority of the martyr Bishop Eusebius of Vercelli was invoked. Attentive to that suggestion, the same Princess wanted to be presented at the tomb of St Eusebius in the cathedral of the Vercelli diocese. And, having been liberated, nevertheless, in that place by means of the exorcisms done by Bishop Albert, she returned to her native place. Where, not long afterwards, although she consented anew to her husband's return to living an incestuous life, troubled again by those unclean spirits, she returned to Vercelli where she besought Bishop Albert to impose his hand and, in this way, to liberate her from them. And thus it proved to be a happy outcome and, thanks to him, she withdrew liberated from them. Lest she be accused of having an ungrateful soul, that lady, indeed, having already heaped up many expressions of thanks, arranged for the construction of a valuable reading table or ambo, composed with sacred figures in marble ... this same Princess, not wanting to return any more to her native place, but to spend her

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[34] See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1086-1087.4:1086-1087.

[35] See ibid.

> life perpetually next to the sacred temple of St Eusebius, ordered a small cloister erected in that place and there she gave [her] soul back to Christ the Lord for a protracted lifetime.

7.[36] In the following year, namely 1190, Albert invalidated by means of his letter that which his predecessor, Guala, conceded to the Provost, Gualone,[37] and to the Canons from St Agatha (Santhià). The same Albert

> was conspicuous as a most faithful mediator between the Most Holy Roman Church and the Empire, whence both the Pope and the Emperor

(again the words are from the ancient Life,[38] and Frederick Barbarossa is to be understood, at any time barely willing and always pretending to obey the Church)

> loved him with a privilege of love more than the other bishops, especially the distinguished Emperor Henry, the son of the most invincible Caesar Frederick [Barbarossa], whose favour he merited by his devoted allegiance in so much that he himself [i.e. Emperor Henry] liberally restored the most noble castle of Verrucha that he was holding for Albert's diocese, and whose sincere devotion by imperial bountifulness he showed by great and precious offices.

The document has been lost (Ferrero would not otherwise have omitted it) [and] to find proof of the same just as Ferrero made it known and, for the most part, transcribed that document word for word, I have

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[36] [7] *Anno proxime sequenti videlicet MCXC suo diplomate infirmavit Albertus, quæ Guala prædecessor Gualoni Præposito & Canonicis de Santhia concesserat. Idem Albertus inter Sacrosanctam Romanam Ecclesiam & Imperium fidelissimus extitit mediator: unde tam summus Pontifex quam Imperator (verba rursum sunt Vitæ antiquæ, & intelligitur Fredericus Barbarossa, vix unquam volens & semper simulans obedire Ecclesiæ) privilegio amoris ipsum super alios Episcopos diligebant: præsertim illustris Imperator Henricus filius invictissimi Cæsaris: cujus gratiam devotionis obsequiis in tantum promeruit, ut nobilissimum castrum Verruchæ hujus Ecclesiæ, quod tenebat sibi, liberaliter restitueret, ac sinceram ejus devotionem magnis & pretiosis muneribus munificentia Imperiali donaret. Perierit restitutionis illius instrumentum, alias non omisisset Ferrerius totum Vercellense Archivium studiosißime scrutatus, ipsum allegare, sicut indicavit & pro majori parte verbotenus transcripsit illud, quo de se loquens Imperator inquit, ad petitionem dilecti & fidelis Principis nostri Alberti Vercellensis Episcopi, ecclesiam S. Eusebii in protectionem suscepimus.... anno ab incarnatione Domini MCXCI: observatque Ferrerius, eo Imperialis Principis beneficio ac titulo alios deinceps Episcopos post Albertum usos fuisse.*

[37] This Guala/Gualone Capella was a canon of Vercelli who had been given the position of Provost of Santhià by Albert's predecessors.

[38] This refers to the Vercelli Archives Life of Albert.

searched the whole Vercelli Archive most carefully for its restitution. In it, speaking of himself, the Emperor[39] says:

> in regard to the request of our beloved and faithful Prince Albert, the Bishop of Vercelli, we take the church/diocese of St Eusebius into [our] protection ... the 1191st year from the incarnation of the Lord.

And Ferrero observes that, there,[40] the other Bishops in succession after Albert had made use of the privilege and title of Imperial Prince from then on.

8.[41] The same Ferrero, proceeding to narrate the other things done by Albert during his episcopacy from the said Writings, writes that, at that time,

> he held a Synod in the year 1192 on the Thursday, Friday and Saturday after Pentecost, in which he drew up salutary decrees for the Diocese, which are still extant. He was honoured with many privileges by Celestine III, particularly concerning tithes in the fourth year of the pontificate ...

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[39] The emperor in question is Henry VI.

[40] This refers to Vercelli.

[41] [8] *Tum ex prædictis Tabulis, cetera Alberti in Episcopatu gesta prosequens enarrare idem Ferrerius, Anno, inquit MCXCII feria IV, V & VI post Pentecosten Synodum habuit, in qua salubria Ecclesiæ decreta edidit, quæ adhuc extant. A Cælestino III pluribus decoratur beneficiis, præsertim circa decimas anno Pontificatus IV Christi MCXCIV. Anno MCXCVI Henricus confirmavit sententiam, in favorem Ecclesiæ Vercellensis latam ab Angelo Imperiali Vicario, super causis vertentibus inter Henricum de Frascarolio, Syndicum Alberti Vercellensis Episcopi, nomine Vercellensis Ecclesiæ, ex una parte; & Gualam Guarnerium, Syndicum Communis Casalis S. Evasii, nomine ipsius Communis, ex altera. Anno MCXCIX ab Innocentio III (hic ante annum Cælestino morienti successerat) adhibitus est Albertus ad Placentinos & Parmenses, super dissensione de Burgo S Domnini, quæ totam Lombardiam ad arma solicitabat, ad pacem & concordiam redigendos. Idem Pontifex eodem anno & sui Pontificatus II præcepit, ut electionem quorumdam Fratrum per Clericos Casalis S. Evasii excommunicatos factam, irritam declararet; eidemque facultatem impertitur cogendi omnes, qui tenentur ad decimas. Hæc Ferrerius ex suæ Ecclesiæ tabulario: addit Vghellus ex Archivio monasterii S. Ambrosii acceptam Mediolano sententiam bene longam, qua Albertus vocatus Episcopus Vercellensis, & Petrus dictus Abbas Leocediensis, terminarunt controversias monachorum & Canonicorum S. Ambrosii Mediolanensis, jam diu sub ipsorum examine ventilatas, exhibitis commißionis Papalis litteris & ad verbum eidem sententiæ insertis, quæ legi potest apud Vghellum data Mediolani anno MCCI, Indictione V, VIII kal. Decembris.*

the 1194th [year of Christ]. In the '1196th' year, Henry confirmed the judgement given in favour of the Diocese of Vercelli by Angelo,[42] the Imperial Vicar,

> ... over the cases brought between Henry de Frascarolio,[43] the proctor of Bishop Albert of Vercelli, in the name of the Diocese of Vercelli, on one side, and Guala Guarnerius, the proctor of the Commune of Casale Sancti Evasii, in the name of the same Commune, on the other. In the 1199th year, Albert was summoned by Innocent III ...

this man had succeeded the dying Celestine the previous year

> ... to the people of Piacenza and Parma over the dissention concerning Borgo San Donnino, which had called the whole of Lombardy to arms, leading them back to peace and concord. In the same year, and the second of his pontificate, the same Pope decreed that, as the election of certain Brothers had been done by the excommunicated clerics of Casale Sancti Evasii, it should be declared invalid and the same was given a share in the power to compel payment by all who were obliged to pay tithes.

This, Ferrero [takes] from the public registry of his Diocese. From the Archive of the monastery of St Ambrose in Milan, Ughelli adds the rather long, accepted judgment by which

> Albert, called to be Bishop of Vercelli, and Peter, the said Abbot of Lucedio, brought to an end the controversies of the monks and Canons of St Ambrose of Milan, already discussed for a long time under the consideration of the same ...

having presented Papal letters of commission and having inserted the judgement of the same word for word, which can be read in Ughelli,

> ... given in Milan ... in the 1201st year, the fifth year of the fifteen-year cycle, on the eighth day before the first of December.

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[42] This Angelo was the Archbishop of Taranto from 1195 to 1202.

[43] Henry de Frascarolio was a canon of Vercelli.

Chapter 2

The Said Contrary Narratives Were Devised Without Any True Likeness.[1]

> The later members having enjoyed greater freedom from pretence, the use of the writings of contemporary writers[2] from elsewhere is easily refuted. In this way, those who would confuse Albert of Jerusalem with Albert of Bethlehem are also now refuted out of those very things. And they pretend[3] that he was initiated in the Priesthood in the year 1142, went with Louis[4] to the Holy Land, and being led back[5] from there, was made Bishop of Vercelli in 1154, then Bishop of Bethlehem in 1157, and, finally, having been extracted from Carmel, having put aside the see of Constantinople, he became Patriarch of Jerusalem in the year 1187 - and that under the schismatic Emperor of Constantinople, and of the Saracens - and it is most certain that these things are being hastily swallowed.[6]

9.[7] The learned men from the Order of Carmelites acknowledge and deplore either the misfortune or negligence of the majority of their own

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[1] *CAPUT 2. Prædictis contrariæ narrationes absque ulla veri similitudine excogitatæ.*

[2] This would seem to be a reference to the earlier writers dealing with the origins of the Carmelites who enjoyed less 'freedom from pretence' and who fabricated an account of those origins that was not in keeping with the reality.

[3] The 'pretend', here, and the 'easily swallowed' at the end, make it clear that what follows is a summary of what those who confuse the two bishops called Albert allege or pretend to be the case, rather than a reflection of Papenbroeck's own view.

[4] This refers to King Louis VII of France.

[5] The reading *reducem*, instead of *reducens*, in the original is presumed to be a typographical error.

[6] *A posteris conficta licentious, uti alias ex coævorum scriptis facile sunt refutata, sic etiam nunc refutantur ex iisdem illi, qui cum Alberto Bethlemita Hierosolymitanum confundat, finguntque an. 1142 Sacerdotio initiatum, cum Ludovico ivisse in Terram-sanctam, indeque reducem [sic. reducens?] an. 1154 factum Episc. Vercellen. tum 1157 Ep. Bethlemiticum, ac denique e Carmelo abstractum, anno 1187 Patriarch Hieros. dimissa sede C P., idque sub Imperatore C P. schismatico, & Saracenis: & hæc at certissima obtruduntur.*

[7] [9] *Agnoscunt & deplorant viri ex Ordine Carmelitarum eruditi majorum suorum vel*

[writers] by which, remembering the affairs at home and abroad, each one either did not care to describe their own times or, perhaps, having described them, they mislaid them. I consider that it is by no means a minor calamity for the Order that they wanted to make good a defect after the event out of inferior, not very traditional, badly stitched together histories and most unreliably founded conjectural invention that was anachronistic and full of contradictions. Those who do not know these suspect narratives to have been [derived] from falsehood implicate themselves in an inextricable labyrinth. Often, while blushing with shame on account of natural affection and reverence towards their own, with great labour and success they defend the same more boldly or excuse them with more indulgence when their labour touches on bringing forth some equally old documents from somewhere (nevertheless, would that it would always touch on some equally old documents!), which are easily proved to be deserving of the highest trustworthiness,[8] because then these old documents, having been compared with other writers of the same or of a nearly equal age and with the old letters of public or private proceedings, are found to have no contradiction concerning the persons or concerning the times.[9]

10.[10] The [account of the] *Life* of St Peter Thomas was of this kind, both the one written by Chancellor Philippe de Mézières of Cyprus, a

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infelicitatem vel negligentiam, qua aut non curarunt describere suis quique temporibus res domi forisque memorabiles; aut descriptas forsitan, amisere. Existimo ego haud minorem Ordinis esse calamitatem, quod defectum illum voluerint supplere posteri, ex traditiunculis male consutis leviβimeque fundatis conjecturis commenti historias, anachronismis & contradictionibus refertas. Has qui nesciunt habere de falsitate suspectas, labyrintho inextricabili sese implicant, dum pro naturali erga suos affectu & reverentia, eosdem defendunt animosius, aut solicitius excusant, labore magno & successu sæpe erubescendo, quando contingit (quod tamen utinam contingat semper!) æquæva alicunde produci monumenta, quæ summam mereri fidem facile probantur, quando collata ad alios ejusdem aut supparis ævi scriptores, & ad veteres publicarum privatarumque actionum tabulas, nullam inveniuntur habere circa personas vel circa tempora contradictionem.

[8] This phrase should probably be read as mildly sarcastic rather than as indicating the true mind of the writer.

[9] Papenbroeck's point would seem to be that the documents in question did not contradict what was known about their own times but were not necessarily reliable concerning the earlier history of the Carmelites.

[10] [10] *Talis fuit S. Petri Thomasii vita, tum ea quam scripsit Philippus Mazerius Cancellarius Cypri, itinerum ejus comes individuus & morientis assessor sedulus; tum alia quam composuit Ioannes Carmessonius, Ordinis Fratrum Minorum in Terra-Sancta Minister, defuncti pro concione laudator, & examinandus ejusdem pie invocati miraculis constitutus Commissarius. Talem autem utramque esse probant partim Pontificia diplomata, ad calcem edita, partim observationes historicæ pariter additæ, quibus fit ut utrique scripto indubitata fides habeatur etiam in aliis, qua aliunde nequeunt confirmari quam quod nulli fide dignæ auctoritati repugnent. Ast, si ista nobis Martium elucubrantibus defuerunt, circa Sanctos*

courtly individual and an assiduous assessor of the manner of proceeding of the dying man, and the other one that was composed by Jean Carmesson, the Minister of the Order of the Friars Minor in the Holy Land, who, piously invoking the miracles of the same that were to be examined, is the one praising the dead man, having been constituted the Executor on account of a meeting.[11] On the other hand, the observations of the historians that were added prove the [two] Pontifical letters edited by the Calced [Carmelites][12] to be both partly of this kind. As a result of which it is brought about that, even now, both writings have undoubted faith in other respects [but], in another, to the degree that those things that are worthy of no faith resist [their] authority, [such things] cannot be confirmed [by them]. But, if those very insignificant[13] things in relation to Saints Berthold [I][14] and Cyril [of Constantinople][15] [in the *Acta Sanctorum* for] of March were not there, and concerning which we who work by night have also put in motion a somewhat obscure study of the arguments needing to be rebutted, it has been demonstrated in the previous chapter that, in a certain sense, those things are not absent in relation to Albert.[16] However, in order that the former lack of fruitfulness[17] might have a more

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Bertholdum atque Cyrillum, de quibus jejune admodum, atque etiam subobscure controversiarum declinandarum studio egimus; non desunt illa in Alberto, quemadmodum superiori capite est demonstratum. Vt autem prior sterilitas evidentiorem contra quorumcumque quærelas excusationem habeat, contrarias certiori historiæ de Alberto opinationes expendendas sumo, saltem pro hac vice; neque enim quavis oblata occasione lubet aut expedit commentarios implere alienis assertis refutandis. Quod igitur Vitam Alberti ante Patriarchatum attinet (nam de aliis partibus infra agemus) ea sic tractatur a scriptoribus Carmelitanis plerisque, ut Italiæ sacræ auctor Vghellus, vir ingenit sedatißimi ac modestißimi, non se potuerit continere, quin diceret, quod portentosas de Alberto narrationes instituerunt.

[11] See Philippe de Mézières, ed. *Vita sancti Petri Thomasii* (Antwerp: Henschen, 1659); John Carmesson OFM, *Vita S. Petri Thomae patriarchae Constantinopolitani legati apostolici, ex ordine B. Virg. Mariae de Monte Carmelo. Scripta ab annis trecentis per R.P. Ioannem Carmessonium...* (Antwerp: typis Marcelli Parijs, in platea dicta Cammerstraet, sub nigro Cane, 1666).

[12] This refers, no doubt, to the bull, *Dum attenta*, which was issued by Pope Sixtus IV on April 1st 1477, and to Pope Julius II's bull, *Ad sacrum Ordinem*, issued on April 20th 1504.

[13] The tone here should probably be understood as indicating irony or, perhaps, modesty. Given the effort that Papenbroeck invested in investigating and defending them, and their impact, the things he had written about the fictitious claims made about these alleged Carmelites were anything but 'insignificant'.

[14] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 8 (Mar III):791-792.

[15] See ibid., 6 (Mar I):498-502.

[16] In other words, some equally strange things have been claimed in relation to Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem.

[17] This refers to the failure of the Carmelites to pay attention to what Papenbroeck had written in relation to Saints Berthold [I] and Cyril [of Constantinople] in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March.

obvious excuse against the complaints of certain individuals, I take up the contrary opinions needing to be weighed concerning the more certain history of Albert, at least in relation to that quarter, for, on occasion, the commentaries do not satisfy the other assertions needing to be refuted and whatever one might wish to have offered is not agreeable or useful.[18] Therefore [we will address] what pertains to the Life of Albert before the Patriarchate (for we will treat below [of the things] concerning the other parts [of his life]), and [show that] it is treated in this way by most of the Carmelite writers, just as Ughelli, the author of the *Italia sacra*, a man most sedate and modest by nature, could not contain himself and said, indeed, that 'monstrous narratives concerning Albert had been fabricated'.[19]

11.[20] For these things that need to be refuted, it would serve, firstly, to observe along with Ughelli[21] that from William of Tyre, book 21, chapter 26, on the year 1188,[22] the same William had come to the third Lat-

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[18] Papenbroeck seems to be somewhat frustrated because some of the things that needed to be refuted went beyond the scope of the commentaries in the March *Acta Sanctorum* and because his critics seemed to find fault no matter how carefully he sought to avoid giving offence.

[19] *... portentosas de Alberto narrationes instituerunt.* See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1096D.4:1096D.

[20] [11] *His dissolvendis serviet imprimis observare cum prædicto Vghello, ex Guilielmo Tyrio lib. 21 cap. 26, ipsum Guilielmum ad Concilium Lateranense III venisse anno MCLXXXVIII, in comitatu septem quos nominat Præsulum, eorumque unum fuisse Albertum Bethleemitam Episcopum, eum utique cujus nomen idem Tyrius omiserat exprimere lib. 20 cap. 33 ubi ait, Radulpho mortuo circa annum MCLXXIII non nisi post biennium suffectum esse alium. Extat Tomo 4 Italiæ Sacræ col. 485 instrumentum publicum anno ab Incarnatione MCLXXXVI, X kalend, Januarii, Indictione IV conditum, Pisis, quo Ubaldus, Dei gratia Pisanæ Ecclesiæ Archiepiscopus, ob reverentiam ad ecclesiam S. Mariæ de Bethleem... dilecto Fratri Nicolao, Subdiacono & Canonico ipsius Ecclesiæ, nomine ejusdem Ecclesiæ S. Mariæ in Bethleem, recipienti, & pro dilecto Fratre Alberto Episcopo, prædictæ Ecclesiæ, dat atque concedit ecclesiam S. Martini, sitam prope Pisanam civitatem in loco qui dicitur Vetula, cum suis bonis & rationibus; ut ipse Episcopus & ejus successores possint in eadem cum suis Clericis habitare (quoties scilicet negotiorum causa eos contingeret transfretare) & ecclesiam illam & res ac bona illius regere & custodire, & ea & bonis atque rebus ejus ad utilitatem ipsius Ecclesiæ de Bethleem uti; salvo in omnibus & reservato jure patronatus. Iste porro Albertus utrum Ambianis vel Antiochiæ natus fuerit, & ex Eustachio Eremita atque Agnete de Podio pronepos magni Petri Eremitæ, non disputo: hoc scio, ea omnia quæ ipsi seu vero seu falso attribuuntur, transcribi in Albertum nostrum, cum ipso in unam eamdemque personam confusum a variis scriptoribus Carmeliticis.*

[21] See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1097C.4:1097C.

[22] See Jacques Bongars, ed. *Gesta Dei per Francos, siue orientalium expeditionum et regni Francorum Hierosolymitani historia, a variis, sed illius aevi, scriptoribus litteris commendata, nunc primum aut editis aut ad libros veteres emendatis... Orientalis historiae tomus primus*, 2 vols. (Hanau: typis Wechelianis, apud heredes Ioan. Aubrii, 1611), 1012 (2.21.26).

eran Council, had been one of the company of seven presiders whom it nominates, and one of them had been Bishop Albert of Bethlehem, him, certainly, whose name the same [William] of Tyre omitted to express in book 20, chapter 33, where he says, 'With Radulphus having died about the year 1173 it was not until two years later that another was put in his place.'[23] A public document, drawn up in Pisa, is extant in volume four,[24] column 485 of the *Italia sacra* in which [we read]:

> ... in the 1186th year from the Incarnation, the tenth day before the first of January,[25] the fourth year of the fifteen-year cycle, Ubald, by the grace of God the Archbishop of the Church of Pisa, out of reverence for the Church of St Mary of Bethlehem ... to the beloved Brother Nicholas, Subdeacon and Canon of the same Church, in the name of his Church of St Mary in Bethlehem, the recipient, and on account of the beloved Brother, Bishop Albert, of the said Church

gives and concedes

> the church of St Martin, located near the city of Pisa in the place that is called Vetula, together with its goods and interests, so that the Bishop himself and his successors might be able to live in it together with his Clerics ...

as often, that is, as they might pass through for the sake of [their] affairs

> ... and rule and guard that church and its things and goods, and use it and its goods and things for the usefulness of the same Church of Bethlehem and in all things save in the right of patronage. ...

Whether, born in Amiens or Antioch, and [born] out of Eustace l'Ermite and Agnes de Podio,[26] that Albert was a great-grandson of the

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[23] See ibid., 995 (2.20.33).

[24] Since the text in question is in volume 3, the 4 would seem to be an error, see Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 3:485.3:485.

[25] In modern terms, December 23rd.

[26] See Adrian de la Morlier, *Les Antiquitez, Histoires, Et Choses Plus Remarquables De La Ville D'Amiens...* (Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1642), 114. Since the father of Bishop Albert of Bethlehem (who is described as having become Patriarch of Jerusalem) is presented in this account as the son of Eustace l'Ermite, the father of this Eustace must have been the son of Pierre I l'Ermite, alias Peter the Hermit. The genealogy of the family l'Hermite, which was in the possession of the vicar general of the diocese of Tournai in 1856, also presents the Bishop (who is identified as having given the Carmelites their Formula of Life) as having parents with the same Christian names, Lord Eustace I of Caesarea and Agnès Dupuis, but it traces the Bishop's descent from Peter the Hermit in a different way. Lord Eustace is presented as the son of Alix and Geofroy de la Tour, the Lord of

great Pierre l'Ermite,[27] I do not dispute hereafter. This I know, that, whether true or false, all those things that are attributed to this very one are assigned to our Albert, since he is mixed up with the same one into one and the same person by various Carmelite writers.

12.[28] One of them, Peter Thomas Saraceni, the author of the *Menologium Carmelitarum*, says that this

> Albert laid the foundations and [spent] the early years of [his] Religious Life in the novitiate and cloister of the Canons Regular of Amiens ...

howsoever it was

> ... he made much progress from studies of sacred letters late into the night in the cloister of Sainte-Geneviève in Paris, having, at

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Caesarea, and Alix and her brother Pierre II l'Ermite are presented as the two children of Peter the Hermit. See Léon Paulet, *Recherches sur Pierre l'hermite et la Croisade*, Histoire de France (Paris - Brussels: A. Decq, 1856), 72-73.

[27] See Aubert Le Mire, *Fasti Belgici et Burgundici. Aubertus Miræus Bruxellensis, Isabellæ Claræ Eugeniæ Serenissima Hisp. Infanti à Sacris Oratorij, & S. T. L. publicabat.* (Brussels: Pepermann, 1622), 695; Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 252, 264; Marco Antonio Alegre de Casanate, *Paradisus Carmelitici decoris in quo archetypicae religionis magni patris Heliae prophetae origo et trophaea mostrantur: et Heliades ab ortu suo, ad usque haec tempora, sapientia, et mirabili virtuti clarentes, per anacephalaeosin pertringuntur* (Lyons: Sumptibus Iacobi et Petri Prost, 1639), 259.

[28] [12] *Vnus eorum Petrus Thomas Saracenus, auctor Menologii Carmelitani, hunc Albertum ait, in Ambianensi Canonicorum regularium cœnobio novitiatus primordia & religiosæ vitæ tirocinia posuisse, cumque in S. Genovefæ cœnobio Parisiis sacrarum litterarum lucubrationibus multum profecisset, Sacerdotali tandem dignitate anno circiter MCXLII initiatum, ab Innocentio Papa accepisse confessiones audiendi facultatem. Interim certum est, quod Collegiata S. Genovefæ ecclesia, uti est ad Vitam S. Wilhelmi Abbatis Roschildensis VI Aprilis demonstratum, nonnisi anno MCXLVIII, expulsis Canonicis secularibus, ad Regulares transierit sub Eugenio III, inter quem & prædictum Innocentium Cœlestinus & Lucius, itidem Secundi, Pontificatum tenuerunt. Tum addit Saracenus, Albertum cum Rege Ludovico (septimus hic fuit, & solvit e Gallia anno MCXLVII post Pentecosten) Terram-sanctam petiisse, & regularem vitam cum aliis Regularibus in claustro Dominici sepulcri esse professum: inde ad Adrianum IV, anno MCLIV exeunte Papam factum, gratulationis causa venisse: a quo Mortariensi ecclesiæ suffectus Episcopus (quis autem Mortariensem Episcopatum vel fando nominari audivit?) tandem factus sit Vercellensis Antistes; quando scilicet Cathedram illam adhuc tenebat Vgutio, anno MCL creatus & usque ad MCLXX superstes. Sed nec tamdiu quidem in Italia Albertum Saracenus retinet: verum mox ubi in Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum electus fuit Amalricus, Sancti Sepulcri Prior (fuit id anno MCLVII, non sub Alexandro, qui anno dumtaxat MCLIX creatus est Pontifex, sed sub ejus decessore Hadriano) censet Albertum Ecclesiæ item Bethleemiticæ optimo jure suffectum: cum ex Guilielmo Tyrio lib. 16 cap. 17 constet, quod Radulphus, favente sibi Domino Hadriano Papa, qui ejus compatriota erat, ad ecclesiam assumptus Bethleemiticam, Episcopus ejus ordinatus est loci, nec nisi anno MCLXXIII obiit, locum Alberto alteri supramemorato & post biennium suffecto relinquens.*

> length, been initiated in the Priestly dignity about the year 1142, he received the faculty of hearing confessions from Pope Innocent.[29]

Meanwhile, it is certain that, as has been shown in the Life of St William, the Abbot of Eskilsø, of [the *Acta Sanctorum* of] April 4th,[30] the college in the church of Sainte-Geneviève was not in use until the year 1148, when, the secular Canons having been expelled, it passed to the Regulars under Eugene III, between whom and the said Innocent, Celestine and Lucius II likewise held the Pontificate. Saraceni adds: 'Then Albert together with King Louis' (this was the seventh [Louis], and he set sail from Gaul after Pentecost in the year 1147):

> ... headed for the Holy Land and he professed the Regular Life together with other Regulars in the cloister of the Lord's Sepulchre; departing from which place in the year 1154, he came for the sake of congratulating Hadrian IV, who had been made Pope; by whom he was appointed the Bishop of the Mortara Church ...

Who, however, has [ever] dared to name or speak of a Mortara Episcopacy? '... at length he was made the Bishop of Vercelli ...' At a time, that is, when Uguccione still held that episcopal see, having been created [Bishop] in the year 1150 and remaining until 1170. But, indeed, lest Saraceni retain Albert in Italy for so long a time: soon, nevertheless, 'as soon as Amalric had been elected the Patriarch of Jerusalem', the Prior of the Holy Sepulchre (in that year, 1157, it was not under Alexander, who was created Pope only in the year 1159, but under his predecessor, Hadrian)[31] proposed that Albert 'be appointed to [the Church] of Bethlehem also with perfect justice'. Since, it is established from William of Tyre, book 16, chapter 17, that

> Radulph, by the favour shown to him by the Lord Pope Hadrian, who was his fellow countryman, having been assumed to the Bethlehem church, he was ordained Bishop of his place[32]

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[29] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 253-254.

[30] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):620-621.

[31] The point being made here would seem to be that, since Amalric was elected Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1567, two years before the death of Pope Hadrian IV in 1159, and since Radulph was appointed as Bishop of Bethleham by the same Pope, rather than by Pope Alexander III, who was elected in 1159, and lived until 1173 (see below), it is not possible that Albert, who succeeded Radulph, could have both become Bishop of Bethlehem in 1157.

[32] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 900 (2.16.17).

and he did not die until the year 1173, leaving the place for the other already mentioned Albert who was appointed two years afterwards.

13.[33] Finally, since Saraceni read something from Nicetas Choniates concerning the monks Leontius and Dositheus, who, from the judgment of the Greek Emperor, were named, successively, to the Patriarchate first of Jerusalem and then of Constantinople, in Baronius for the year 1187 and 1188[34] (the Holy City, that is, having been already captured by the Saracens and the Latins taken away), that one[35] pretends that Albert had the surname Leontii[36] and, as a witness to his fiction, he cites Génébrard for the year 1187,[37] who is asserting nothing similar either in that place or in the whole of his Chronology. Then, the same Saraceni builds a shapeless mass on this ruinous foundation of prolix fable, and he pictures to himself Albert, at first thus driven out of his position in such a way that, having put down the episcopal chair of Bethlehem, he preferred to live as a Carmelite among the Carmelites, then, having been called to the distinction of the Patriarchate of Constantinople by Dositheus, a schismatic monk and one living at the Patriarchal summit [of that schism], and, having been absolved by those by whom he had been elected that very year, finally was appointed the Patriarch of Jerusalem by Athanasius[38] of the Greeks: at the very same

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[33] [13] *Denique cum apud Baronium ad annum MCLXXXVII & VIII aliquid ex Niceta Choniata legisset Saracenus de Leontio & Dositheo monachis, ad Patriarchatum primo Hierosolymitanum deinde Constantinopolitanum succeßive nominatis ex Imperatoris Græci arbitrio (urbe scilicet sancta jam capta a Saracenis & Latinis erepta) fingit ille, Albertum habuisse cognomen Leontii, & fictionis suæ testem citat Genebrardum anno 1187, nihil simile aut istic aut in tota sua Chronographia asserentem. Tum ruinoso huic fundamento prolixæ fabulæ molem superstruit idem Saracenus, sibique imaginatur, Albertum a Dositheo, schismatico monacho & Patriarchale fastigium ambiente, primo ita exagitatum, ut demissa Bethleemitica Cathedra maluerit inter Carmelitas Carmelita vivere, deinde ad Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani infulas evocatum, iisque ipso quo electus fuerat anno absolutum, tandem suffectum esse Athanasio Græcorum Hierosolymis Patriarchæ: eo ipso scilicet tempore quo vivebat adhuc Latinus Hierosolymarum Patriarchæ Heraclius, vel (si de annis paulo post secutis agatur) Heraclii successores Sulpitius & Monachus.*

[34] See Caesar Baronius and Odorico Raynaldi, *Annales ecclesiastici*, 37 vols. (Paris: Barri-Ducis, Ludovicus Guerin, Eques ordinis S. Silvestri, 1864), 19:556 n. 11, 563 n. 11, 575 n. 30, 579 n. 13.

[35] Saraceni.

[36] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 261.

[37] See Gilbert Génébrard and Arnaud de Pontac, *Cronographiae libri quator: priores duo sunt de rebus veteris populi, et praecipius quotuor millium annorum gestis. Posteriores, é D, Arnaldi Pontaci aucti, recentes historias reliquorum annorum complectuntur* (Paris: Apud Michaelem Sonnium, 1580), 372-373.

[38] It is not clear to whom this refers, since the first Athanasius who was Greek emperor of Constantinople was a century later (1289-93). Papenbroeck seems to presume

time, that is, in which Heraclius, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, was still living or (a little later if we are dealing with something concerning the succeeding years) in which Sulpitius[39] and Monaco, the successors of Heraclius, were still living.

14.[40]

> An artist joins an equine neck to a human head if he wishes, and introduces different feathers on all sides, so that, having united the members disagreeably, the beautiful woman from above ends up a dark fish.[41]

Could a monster pretend to be more heterogeneous that this Albert pretends to be? And indeed, according to Saraceni, this man was a Canon Regular and the Bishop of Bethlehem among the orthodox Latins, then, I do not know how, having been introduced by the schismatic Emperor of Constantinople, he was promoted from the episcopal see of the royal city[42] to Jerusalem by means of the same Emperor. At any rate not for the benefit of the Latins, none of whom had survived in the city of Jerusalem

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(see n. 14) that it refers to the then Emperor of Constantinople, who was, in fact, Isaac II Angelos (1185-95).

[39] Although listed by Papenbroeck in his account of the Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem, modern historians do not list any Suplicius among those Patriarchs and the two patriarchs between Haraclius and Monachus are now recognised as Rodolfo and Michele de Corbeil. See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):i-lxxii.

[40] [14] *Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam jungere si velit, & varias inducere plumas, undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne, poteritne fingere monstrum magis heterogeneum, quam hic fingitur Albertus? Etenim hic secundum Saracenum, primo fuerit inter Latinos orthodoxos Canonicus Regularis & Episcopus Bethleemiticus; deinde, nescio quomodo Constantinopolitano Imperatori schismatico infinuatus, per eumdemque ab Vrbis regiæ cathedra ad Hierosolymitanam promotus, non utique pro Latinis, qui nulli Hierosolymis supererant urbe a Saracenis capta; sed pro Græcis Syrisve, qui soli ex Christianis ibi remanserant; dum scilicet Latinorum Patriarchæ Accone habitarent, & legitima Latini Cleri aut Romani Pontificis electione continuarent seriem nusquam interruptam; in quam Albertum inducemus seculo sequenti. Constat interim ex supra positis, ipsum ad illud usque seculum non protulisse pedem extra Europam; & Vercellensem Episcopum egisse, dum in Palestina Episcopatum Bethleemiticum administraret Albertus alius, de quo supra, nihil cum schismaticis Imperatore aut Clero commune habens, & prius mortuus quam noster hic mare trajecerit; illius namque in Sede Bethleemitica successor Petrus legitur anno MCCIV interfuisse electioni Balduini, Flandriæ Comitis, in Constantinopolitanum Imperatorem.*

[41] These are the opening lines of Horace's *Ars poetica*. See Horace, *Ars poetica*, 1-4, in Otto Keller and Alfred Theophil Holder, eds., *Q. Horati Flacci opera*, 2 vols. (Leipzig: B. G Teubner, 1864), 1:327-328. The reference is to a mermaid and the verse is often quoted in relation to literary works that use imagination to confuse rather than to enlighten.

[42] This is a reference to Constantinople.

when it was captured by the Saracens, but for the benefit of the Greeks or Syrians, who were the only Christians who remained there, while, you may be sure, the Patriarchs of the Latins lived in Acre and the Latin Clerics continued a series - into which we introduce Albert during the following century - that was never- interrupted or [that was interrupted] by the legitimate election of the Roman Pontiff.[43] It is consistent, meanwhile, from what has been established above that as far as that century [is concerned], while the other Albert was administering the Episcopacy of Bethlehem in Palestine, and he died before ours[44] will have crossed the sea to there, the same Bishop of Vercelli, having nothing in common with the schismatic Emperor or Clergy concerning whom [there is mention] above, would not have been able to move a foot outside Europe. And in fact Peter, the successor of that Albert in the See of Bethlehem, is read to have been present for the election of Baldwin, the Count of Flanders, as the Emperor of Constantinople in the year 1204.[45]

15.[46] Partly, I have given the very words of Saraceni, partly I have gathered together the weariness of a prolixity that is rich is fables into a few [words]. That was sufficient so that the reader might know with what 'good faith'[47] the 'Life of the Holy Father Albert the Carmelite, the Patriarch of Jerusalem' is 'extracted out of domestic and external documents'[48] (as the title claims). Is not this thing that the Preface promises to the reader - 'The origins of the Saints sewn together out of genuine sources, with a robust and constant faith, in the proper style, [so as to] exile completely the imposition of apocryphal things'[49] - a thing of

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[43] This refers to the election of Patriarch Jacques Pantaléon of Jerusalem as Pope Urban IV in 1261.

[44] This refers to Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem.

[45] Since he was already dead when his successor was identified in 1204, the same individual could be the same as the Albert who was bishop of Vercelli until 1205.

[46] [15] *Verba Saraceni partim ipsa dedi, partim fabulosæ prolixitatis tædio in pauca contuli: satis hoc erat, ut lector cognosceret quam bona fide, ex domesticis & exteris monumentis (ut præfert titulus) ab eo sit excerpta Vita S. P. Alberti Carmelitæ, Hierosolymorum Patriarchæ. Hoccine est, quod promittit Præfatio ad lectorem, Sanctorum originaria, e genuinis fontibus, robusta & constanti fide, proprio recudere stylo, apocryphis omnino exulare jussis? Ad singulas pene periodos auctorum illustrium nomina & loca citat: sed quos vidimus aut contraria aut diversa scripsisse. Dubites utrum crediderit, post suum illud Menologium typis datum, futurum quemquam qui litteras nosset, & fidem tam prodigiosa narrantis testesque allegantis posset oculorum propriorum explorare judicio.*

[47] The term 'good faith' is being used here with heavy irony.

[48] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 252.

[49] See ibid., xv (Legenti candido, p. 2).

chicory?[50] In relation to each sentence, almost, he cites the names and places of illustrious authors but, [concerning] those things, we have seen either contrary or different things written. You doubt whether, after that *Menologium* of his was given to the printers, he could have believed that some future individual who might become acquainted with letters and might explore by the judgment of his own eyes the trustworthiness of the one narrating such prodigious things and alleging such witnesses.

[50] Since chicory was used as a substitute for coffee, the implication here would seem to be that what was being claimed was not, in fact, being delivered.

Chapter 3

The Calling of Bl. Albert to the Jerusalem Patriarchate and the Things Done in the Course of It.[1]

When Patriarch Monaco died, and when Cardinal Soffredo excused himself, Albert, who had been there not long before that, perhaps,[2] was elected Patriarch in the year 1204. The Pope warns lest, the Lord of Jerusalem [Jesus Christ] having suffered on account of the servant, the servant himself would refuse to suffer on account of the Lord in the same place and to undertake the burden of his Church; lest, having surrendered the place for [whose] persons he was the overseer until then, he flee from the labours, afflictions, fears, poverty, anxieties, necessities, he assigns the example of James, the brother of the Lord, embracing that Episcopacy, which is the principal one in the Church. He indicates the order of the election and the votes of the Prelates and Princes to whom this thing needing to be conceded would settle that same agitation. And, every excuse having been taken away, and even needing to be compelled to assume that Church, he made the same the Apostolic Legate and he heaped on many privileges. Having landed at Acre in the year 1206, where there was a particular Bishop of the place, Innocent III writes in the year 1211, the year 1212, the year 1213, and he invited Albert to the Fourth Lateran Council. Of his commentary concerning the Holy Land.[3]

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[1] *CAPUT III. B. Alberti ad Patriarchatum Hierosolymitanum vocatio: & res in eo gestæ.*

[2] As the text later makes clear, there is no evidence to suggest that Albert had been to the Holy Land prior to his arrival there as Patriarch of Jerusalem in 1206.

[3] *Mortuo Monacho Patriarcha, & Soffredo Card. se excusante, Albertum, qui forsan ibi paulo ante fuerat, electam Patriarcham an. 1204, monet Papa, ne Domino Hierosolymis passo pro servu, ipse servus recuset ibidem pro Domino pati, & ejus Ecclesiæ onus suscipere, ne fugiat labores, dolores, timores, paupertatem, anxietates, necessitates, jubet exemplo Iacobi, fratris Domini, illum Episcopatum amplecti, qui precipuus in Ecclesia, amisso loco adhuc supererat in personis: indicat Ordinem electionis, & Prælatorum ac Principum vota, quibus motus ipsum eis concedendum putarit, & omni excusatione præcisa, etiam cogendum, ad suscipiendam Ecclesiam illam. Eumdem facit Legatum Apost. & multis cumulat*

16.[4] In the first chapter of the Life[5] sampled by us, after he commended the praiseworthy intercourse of Albert in the Vercelli diocese, the contemporary[6] author continued his narrative thus: 'Truly, like a flash of lightning that comes out of the West' (Christ, clearly, compared to a flash of lightning in Mt 24:27)[7]

> and travels across the sky as far as the East, so that it might constitute in the heights the glory of such a man, he was unanimously postulated by the Eastern clergy and people as the Patriarch of Jerusalem and urged to go to that place by the lord Pope Innocent III.

You will have surveyed accurately and fully those the one conducted to that grace of honour will have had as predecessors and successors in my tract concerning the Patriarchs in this place in the prologue before the first tome of May.[8] There,[9] from the history of the arm of St Philip the Apostle having been sent from Jerusalem and brought to Florence 'in the 1204th year of the Dominical Incarnation, on the sixth' day before the Nones of March,[10] written by someone who was then a Cleric of the diocese of Florence, I have shown that Sulpitius succeeded Heraclius, that

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privilegiis: Anno 1206 Acconem appulso, ubi proprius loci Episcopus erat, scribit Innocentius 3 an. 1211, anno 1212, anno 1213, & Albertum invitat ad Concilium Lateran. 4. ejus Commentarii de Terra sancta.

[4] [16] *Avctor coævus Vitæ primo capite a nobis delibatæ, postquam Alberti laudabilem in Ecclesia Vercellensi conversationem commendavit, sic narrationem suam prosequitur: Verum ut Fulgur, quod exit ab Occidente (Christus videlicet, fulguri comparator Matthei 24 v. 27) & patet usque in Orientem, tanti viri gloriam constitueret in excelso, ab Orientali Clero & populo in Hierosolymitanum Patriarcham fuit unanimiter postulatus, & per Dominum Papam Innocentium III, ut illo iret coactus. Quos in eo gradu honoris decessores successoresque habuerit, accurate pleneque deductum leges in meo de hisce Patriarchis tractatu, ad primum tomum Maji præliminari. Ibi ex historia brachii S. Philippi Apostoli ab Ierusalem mißi, & Florentiam allati anno Dominicæ Incarnationis MCCIV VI Nonas Martii, scripta ab aliquo tunc ecclesiæ Florentinæ Clerico, demonstravi, Heraclio Sulpitium, Sulpitio succeßisse Cæsariensem Archiepiscopum, non re, sed nomine proprio Monachum: qui postquam, Domino vocante, debitum humanitatis exolvit... tumulato corpore tanti Patris, Cardinalis Soffredus, qui tunc in partibus transmarinis Legationis officio fungebatur, fuit in Patriarcham electus: sed ille postea electioni renuntiavit. Verum universi ad quos spectavit electio, de consensu Regis, elegerunt Episcopum Vercellensem, ad quem reducendum Rainerius, olim ecclesiæ sanctæ Resurrectionis in Jerusalem, tunc Joppensis Prior, qui de Florentina diœcesi fuerat, legatus fuit principaliter constitutus.*

[5] This refers to the Vercelli Archives Life of Albert.

[6] Here contemporary is used with respect to Albert.

[7] On the addition of the words in brackets to the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):909.

[8] See ibid., 15 (May III):i-lxxii.

[9] See ibid., 15 (May III):li-lii.

[10] In modern terms, March 2nd.

the Archbishop of Caesarea, Monaco, who was not, in fact, a monk but was Monaco by his proper name, succeeded Sulpitius,[11] who afterwards,

> the Lord calling, discharged the debt of humanity[12] ... after the bodily burial of such a Father, Cardinal Soffredo, who was then discharging the office of Legate in the transmarine[13] regions, had been elected as Patriarch but, afterwards, that one renounced the election. Truly, depending on the consent of the King, all those to whom the election pertained elected the Bishop of Vercelli, to whom, needing to be conducted [thither], Rainerius, once the Prior of the church of the Resurrection in Jerusalem, then the Prior of Joppa, who was of the diocese of Florence, was chiefly constituted the legate.[14]

17.[15] This thing in this place, out of which someone might seize an occasion of needing to suspect that, previously, perhaps on the second or third year of the century, Bl. Albert came to the East on account of some business of the Empire or of the Church, and, having lived at Acre with Patriarch Monaco and his Clerics, left in that place the odour of his virtues with the result that, although absent, he had been postulated. But this suspicion, as, on the one hand, it cannot be shown to be false, thus, on the other, it requires a more solid foundation if it

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[11] It is now generally recognised that the successor of Heraclius as Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem was, in fact, Rodolfo, that Rodolfo's successor was Michele de Corbeil, and that the successor of Michele de Corbeil was Aimaro Monaco dei Corbizzi.

[12] In other words, he died.

[13] On the correction of *marinis* to *transmarinis* in the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):909.

[14] See ibid., 15 (May III):lii.

[15] [17] *Hæc ibi, ex quibus occasionem arriptat quispiam suspicandi, quod B. Albertus antehac, anno fortaßis seculi secundo aut tertio, propter aliqua Imperii aut Ecclesiæ negotia in Orientem profectus, & Accone cum Patriarcha Monacho ejusque Clericis conversatus, eum ibi virtutis suæ odorem reliquerit, ut etiam absens fuerit postulatus. Sed Suspicio hæc, uti non potest demonstrari falsæ; sic solidiori eget fundamento, ut credatur vera: cum* ad reducendum *ex usu vulgari sic accipi poßit, ut rediens Raynerus adducere eum jubeatur, qui ibi numquam fuerat. Sic cum a loco suo quis surgens, ut aliunde accipiat quidpiam, eo unde exiverat redit; illud secum referre dicitur, licet ipsum numquam ibi fuerit quo defertur. Ista porro Soffredi Cardinalis renuntiatio & Alberti electio, non tantum confirmatur ex Gestis Innocentii, a Francisco Bosqueto vulgatis; sed etiam ex ipsius Pontificis pulcherrima epistola, ad se excusantem reluctantemque data, anno (ut Stephanus Ferrerius ex registro Vaticano transcripsit) MCCIV, XII kalendas Martii. Vnde apparet Raynerium Priorem, mox ut consensum Pontificis Romæ obtinuit, hanc epistolam secum detulisse, & Vercellas properantem transivisse Florentia IV Nonas ejusdem Martii. Epistolam, quia pulcherrimum præbet de virtute Alberti testimonium, estque chronologiæ quam sequimur munimen solidißimum, totam exhibeo.*

is to be believed true, since, from the vulgar usage, 'that thing' can thus be accepted 'according to [whether or not] it needs to be retracted', just as, returning, Rainerius rejoiced to have brought back to that place him who had never before been to that place. Thus, when anyone rising from his place in order that he might receive something from another place is said to bring that thing back with him when he returns to the place from whence he came, although that same thing had never been to that place to which it is brought. Further, that renunciation of Cardinal Soffredo and that election of Albert is not only confirmed from the deeds of Innocent, published by François Bosquet,[16] but also from the most beautiful letter of the same Pontiff to the one excusing himself and reluctant, given in the year (as Stefano Ferrero transcribes it from the Vatican register) '1204, the twelfth day before the first of March.'[17] From which it is clear that Prior Rainerius, as soon as he obtained the consent of the Pontiff of Rome, brought this letter with him and hastening to Vercelli passed through Florence 'on the fourth day before the nones' of the same 'March'. A most beautiful letter and I present the whole [of it][18] because it offers a testimony concerning the virtue of Albert and because it is the most solid rampart of the chronology that we follow.

18.[19]

> 'While he was in the form of God,' Jesus Christ, the only-begotten son of God, 'emptied his very self,' as the Apostle [St Paul] testifies, so that he might repair the fall of the human race, 'accepting the form of a servant, he was made in the likeness of human beings, and having been found in a condition as a human being,'

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[16] See François Bosquet, ed. *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 2 vols. (Toulouse: Apud Societam Telosanam, 1635), 2:81, 99.

[17] In other words, February 15th. Ferrero seems to have made an error of transcription for the letter ends: Given at Rome, in Saint Peter's, on the 13th day before the first of March [February 16th].

[18] The text of the letter is taken from the register of Pope Innocent III, see Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 2:81-84.

[19] [18] *Ut lapsum humani generis repararet unigenitus Dei filius Jesus Christus, cum in forma Dei esset, exinanivit, ut testatur Apostolus, semetipsum, formam servi accipiens, in similitudinem hominum factus, & habitu inventus ut homo; & elegit sibi Hierosolymam*

he both chose Jerusalem for his own passion, 'having been made obedient to God the Father as far as death of a cross' (see Phil 2:6-8), and he 'bore our sins in his body on the tree,' (1 Pet 2:24) having been crucified together with robbers, he was 'reckoned with the transgressors' (Mk 15:28). Therefore, unless the useless servant will have wished to be condemned concerning the vice of ingratitude, he will refuse neither the yoke nor slaughter on account of the Lord, since the Lord, having been condemned to a most disgraceful death, handed himself over on account of the servant. Certainly, as the Lord removed every occasion for us, nor did he keep any place for excuses in the sin of negligence needing to be excused, whatever the servant might be able to suffer on behalf of the Lord, the Lord, as I may say, has suffered before on behalf of the servant. Who therefore will not relinquish the whole world for him, whom he will have known descended from the heavens to the earth? Who will not lay aside his soul for that one, who, on his account, gave up the spirit on the cross? If indeed, we taste the chalice of suffering on his account in order that we might pay him back something, on account of all the things that he himself gave back to us, neither tribulation, nor distress, nor death, nor the sword (see Rom 8:35) should hold us back in any way, if necessity requires it and utility demands it. For if we are disposed to live as he lived, and to follow his footsteps, we should fear in some measure neither the taunts of the reproachers, nor the attacks of the familiar enemy, nor the power of the cruel foe, (but) that we might not walk in his ways, or direct our feet into his paths; suffering for a time together with the one suffering so that, for ever, we might reign happily together with the one ruling.

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passioni, factus obediens Deo Patri usque ad mortem crucis; & peccata nostra in corpore suo pertulit super lignum, reputatus cum iniquis & cum latronibus crucifixus. [Phil. 2, 7] Nisi ergo de ingratitudinis vitio servus voluerit inutilis condemnari, nec jugum nec jugulum recusabit subire pro Domino; cum Dominus tradidit se pro servo, morte turpissima condemnatus. Sane ut omnem occasionem nobis Dominus tolleret, nec ad excusandas excusationes in peccato locum negligentiæ aliquem reservaret, quidquid servus pati potuisset pro Domino, pene passus est Dominus ante pro servo. Quis ergo terrena omnia non relinquat pro eo, quem descendisse noverit a cælestibus ad terram? quis animam suam non ponat pro illo, qui pro eo spiritum emisit in cruce? Siquidem ut retribuamus ei aliquid, pro omnibus quæ retribuit ipse nobis, nec tribulatio, nec angustia, nec mors, nec gladius, nos debet aliquatenus retardare, quo minus, si necessitas exigat & deposcat utilitas, gustemus pro eo calicem passionis. Si enim, quemadmodum ambulavit, ambulare disponimus, & vestigia ejus sequi; nec opprobria exprobrantium, nec hostis familiaris insidias, nec inimici sævientis potentiam debemus aliquatenus formidare; quo minus in viis ambulemus ipsius, & pedes nostros in ejus semitis dirigamus; passo compatientes ad tempus, ut in æternum regnanti feliciter conregnemus.

19.[20]

And indeed we have known and we hold as certain, both from Prophetic and Gospel reading, that his heart was eternally hoping, when the tongue of those who cursed him reproached him for being the son of the carpenter, a drinker of wine and a friend of publicans. We have known that the one who ate his bread raised the heel against him. We have known how, sprinkled with spittle, knocked down by blows, crowned with thorns, he patiently bore the tyranny of Pilate; in the end he was crucified, and he was pierced with a lance. Will you, therefore, deny your Maker by refusing to undertake the burden of the Jerusalem Church which he consecrated with his blood? If you have been worthy to be elected the successor, will you not go to his inheritance, nor raise the seed of your dead brother who planted his Gospel seed in the land of pilgrimage and preaching, to propagate [it], perhaps for you? Let it not happen that you avoid the labours, fears and sorrows, that you flee the poverties, anxieties and needs, that you not submit to that

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[20] [19] *Novimus etenim & certum tenemus, tam ex Prophetica quam Euangelica lectione, quod in perpetuum expectavit cor ejus, cum lingua ei maledicentium exprobraret, quod filius fabri esset, potator vini, & publicanorum amicus. Novimus, quod qui edebat panes ejus, erexit calcaneum contra ipsum. Novimus, qualiter sputo conspersus, cæsus colaphis, spinis coronatus, Pilati tyrannidem pertulit patienter; crucifixus ad ultimum, & lancea perforatus. Numquid ergo tuo te Factori negabis, ut recuses onus Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ subire, quam suo sanguine consecravit? Si te sibi dignatus est quodammodo eligere successorem; numquid non adibis hæreditatem ipsius, nec suscitabis semen fratri defuncto, qui per te posuit forsitan in terra peregrinationis & prædicationis suæ semen Euangelicum propagare? Absit ut labores, timores & dolores evites; paupertates, anxietates & necessitates effugias, ne subeas onus illud, ad quod es divina dispositione vocatus. [Is. 1, 14] Absit ut pro eo labores evites, qui pro te per Prophetam se asserit laborasse, dicens in Psalmo, Laboravi sustinens, & de quo Euangelista testatur quod hora quasi sexta sedebat super puteum, ex itinere fatigatus. [Ioa. 4, 6] Absit ut pro eo dolores evites, quem pro te non dubitas doluisse, juxta quod ipse asserit in Propheta, O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite & videte, si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus: [Thr. 1, 12] & qui de se ipso in Euangelio protestatur, Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem. [Mar. 14, 34] Absit ut pro illo timores evites, qui de se legitur in Psalmo dixisse, Timor & tremor venerunt super me, & de quo in Euangelio legitur, quod cœpit pavere & tædere. [Ps. 54, 6, Mar. 14, 33] Absit ut pro eo fugias paupertatem, qui pro te pauper est factus, juxta quod asserit in Propheta, Pauper & dolens sum ego; & in Euangelio, Vulpes foveas habent & volucres cæli nidos; filius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet. [Ps. 68, 30, Luc. 9, 58] Absit ut pro eo anxietates refugias, in cujus persona loquens Propheta sic ait: Anxiatus est in me spiritus meus, & in me turbatum est cor meum; & qui asserit de seipso, Baptismo habeo baptizari, & coarctor donec perficiatur. [Ps. 142, 4, Luc. 12, 30] Absit ut pro eo necessitates effugias, qui pro te, ut alia taceamus, se in famis & sitis necessitatem induxit, juxta quod legitur in Propheta, Dederunt in escam meam fel & in siti mea potaverunt me aceto: & sicut idem Euangelista testatur, quod cum jejunasset quadraginta diebus & quadraginta noctibus postea esuriit: & cui cum clamasset in cruce, Sitio, acetum sive vinum myrrhatum sive etiam felle mixtum crucifigentium dextera propinavit. [Ps. 68, 22, Mat. 4, 2]*

burden to which you have been called by divine providence. Let it not happen that, on his account, you avoid the labours that, on your account, he announced by means of the Prophet [Isaiah] that wearied him, saying in the Psalm, maintaining 'I am weary' (Isa 1:14), and concerning whom the Evangelist testifies that, about the sixth hour he was sitting over the well, having been wearied from the journey (see Jn 4:6). Let it not happen that you avoid sorrows on account of him whom, you do not doubt, suffered pain, according to what he himself announced in the Prophet [Jeremiah], 'O all you who pass by the way, look and see, if there be sorrow like my sorrow' (Lam 1:12), and who testified concerning himself in the Gospel (Mk 14:34; Mt 26:38): 'My soul is sorrowful unto death.' Let it not happen that you avoid fears on account of that one who is read to have said concerning himself in the Psalm (Ps 55:5), 'Fear and trembling came upon me,' and concerning whom it is read in the Gospel that 'he began to be alarmed and troubled' (Mk 14:33). Let it not happen that you flee poverty on account of him who, on your account, made himself poor, according to what he announced in the Prophet [David], 'I am poor and in pain' (Ps 69:29), and in the Gospel, 'Foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of Man has no place to lay his head' (Lk 9:58). Let it not happen that you protect yourself from anxieties on account of him who, speaking in whose person the Prophet [David] says: 'My spirit is anxious within me' (Ps 142:4) and 'my heart is stricken within me' (Ps 109:22); and who announces concerning his very self, 'I have to be baptised with a baptism and how I am constrained until it is accomplished' (Lk 12:50). Let it not happen that you flee neediness on account of him who, on your account, as we may not mention other things, led himself into the neediness of hunger and thirst, according to what is read in the Prophet [David], 'They gave me poison for food, and for my thirst they gave me vinegar to drink' (Ps 69:22), and just as the same Evangelist testifies, that when he was fasting for forty days and forty nights, afterwards 'he was hungry' (Lk 4:2): and to whom when he cried out on the cross, 'I thirst,' (Jn 19:28) the right hand of the one crucifying [him] gave him vinegar or wine with myrrh or with even a mixture of gall added to drink.

20.[21]

If by chance it might have moved you, that you might be called to become Prelate of that Church, whose possession at present you

[21] [20] *Si forte te moveat quod ad illius Ecclesiæ Præsulatum vocaris, cujus ad præsens non poteris possessionem adire; utpote quæ fere tota nunc ab hostibus detinetur ad tempus; reducas ad oculos tuæ mentis, quomodo Jacobus frater Domini suscepit Hiero*

are not able to approach, since almost all of it has now been held by the enemies for some time, you should bring to the eyes of your mind how James, the brother of the Lord, undertook the governing of Jerusalem, not something favouring himself indeed but rather something repugnant to him; since in that city those people held authority at that time who had both crucified the Lord outside the city and afterwards killed the same James near the Temple (see Acts 12:2).[22] And, although John and Thaddeus were brothers of the Lord according to the flesh, James is particularly said to be his brother, since the one who had led the wife left behind by his dead brother so that he might raise up seed for him according to the law of Moses: the one who not incongruously is called the Supplanter[23] since he supplanted the apostles in a certain sense, since the one who, although he was not the first among the others, nevertheless almost snatched away the inheritance of the first born from the others, while he undertook the governance of the first-born Church: concerning which, namely, the Prophet [Isaiah] testifies that, 'out of Sion shall come forth the law and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem' (Isa 2:3). This is 'the city of the great king' (Ps 48:2), concerning which many glorious things have been said, and that, as it were, special thing that is added: Humanity calls Sion mother, and the Most High became human in her, and himself founded her (Ps 86:5). Moreover, although a part of the Church, that, suffering,

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solymam gubernandam, nonquidem faventem sibi, sed potius repugnantem; utpote in qua illi tenebant eo tempore potentatum, qui & Dominum crucifixerant extra urbem, & circa templum postmodum ipsum Jacobum occiderunt. Et licet Joannes & Thaddæus secundum carnem fuerint fratres Domini Jacobus tamen specialiter dicitur Frater ejus, utpote qui relictam fratris defuncti duxerit uxorem, ut semen ei juxta legem Mosaicam suscitaret: qui etiam non incongrue dicitur Supplantator, cum quodammodo Apostolos supplantasset, utpote qui quamvis primus inter alios non fuisset, ceteris tamen quasi primogenituram præripuit, dum primogenitam suscepit Ecclesiam gubernandam: de qua videlicet Propheta testatur, quod de Sion exivit lex & verbum Domini de Hierusalem [Is. 2, 3] Hæc est civitas Regis magni, de qua multa dicta sunt gloriosa, & illud quasi præcipuum quod subjungitur: Mater Sion dicet, Homo & homo factus est in ea, & ipse fundavit eam Altissimus. [Ps. 86, 5] Præterea licet pars illius Ecclesiæ, quod dolentes referimus, in excidio Terræ-sanctæ capta fuerit & ab hostibus trucidata: pars tamen, quæ manet tua; imo etiam ipsa Ecclesia, quæ per novam est sobolem renovata, in Pastorem te sibi exposcit & expectat Non ergo de loco causeris, cum personas habeas quas gubernes: quia nomen Ecclesiæ ad personas refertur amplius quam ad locum: licet ad hoc specialiter postuleris, ut de loco solicitus, ad recuperationem ipsius, ad reintegrationem terræ nativitatis Dominicæ, totis viribus allabores.

[22] The Pontiff seems to have become somewhat confused in his comparisons when he presents the future killing of James by the Jerusalem authorities as one of the reasons why the same James might have been reluctant to become Prelate of Jerusalem at a time when those same authorities ruled there.

[23] On the term 'Supplanter', see St Jerome, Epist., 69:6, in Jacques-Paul Migne, ed. *Patrologia latina*, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64), 22:660.

we report had been captured and slaughtered by enemies in the destruction of the Holy Land, the part, nevertheless, that remains yours, on the contrary the same Church (diocese) that has even been renewed by means of a new sprout, implores and expects that you become its Pastor. Therefore you should not complain concerning the place, when you have people whom you might govern: because the name of a Church (diocese) is referred more to persons than to a place, although for this you have been specially postulated that, showing concern for the place, you dedicate all your powers for its recuperation, for the reintegration of the land of the Lord's birth.

21.[24]

For, coming into our presence [our] beloved son ... the prior and ... the canons of the Holy Sepulchre, both by what they said and by the letters that they carried, humbly made known to us that, when our beloved brother, the presbyter cardinal of the title of St Praxade, the legate of the apostolic see, could not be persuaded to consent to the election to the Jerusalem church carried out concerning himself, gathered together into one, they unanimously postulated you as patriarch, to which postulation, and most clearly, our son in Christ, the illustrious king of Jerusalem,[25] gave his assent, and, by means of their begging letters to us, the archbishops consented, that I not only induce you, but also consider you worthy to compel so that you humbly consent to their postulation. The same, also, our beloved sons, Soffredo of St Praxade, also Peter of the title of St Marcellus, cardinal presbyters, legates of the apostolic see, by means of their letters to us intimated that, when

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[24] [21] *Accedentes enim ad præsentiam nostram dilectus filius Prior & Canonici Sepulcri Dominici, tam viva voce quam per litteras quas tuberunt, nobis humiliter intimarunt, quod cum dilectus Frater Soffredus, tituli S. Praxedis Presbyter Cardinalis, Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus non potuisset induci ut electioni factæ de ipso ad Hierosolymitanam Ecclesiam consentiret, convenientes in unum te in Patriarcham unanimiter postularunt. Quorum postulationi & carissimus in Christo filius noster illustris Rex Hierosolymitanus assensum præbuit, & Archiepiscopi consenserunt; per suas nobis litteras, supplicantes, ut te non solum inducere sed etiam cogere dignaremur, ut postulationi eorum humiliter consentires. Idem quoque dilecti filii Soffredus S. Praxedis & Petrus tituli S. Marcelli Presbyteri Cardinales, Apostolicæ Sedis Legati, per suas nobis litteras intimar t: quod cum suffraganei ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ in electione vocem assererent se habere Prior autem & Canonici Sepulcri Dominici hoc negarent, factum est tandem ut nominatis duabus personis, vices & voces suas in eas devote conferrent; ut ex illis, quam magis idoneam crederent, eis eligerent: Patriarcha similiter [Antiochenus] & Prælati provinciæ, in eos, si quid juris in electione habeant, concorditer contulerunt. Ipsi ergo deliberatione præhabita in duabus nominatis personis, te potius eligentes, nominarunt eidem ecclesiæ in Pastorem.*

[25] The King in question was King Amalric II of Jerusalem.

the suffragan [bishops] of the Jerusalem Church asserted their right to have voice in the election, the prior and canons of the Sepulchre of the Lord nevertheless denied this, it finally happened that they devoutly conferred on the two nominated persons[26] their ballots and voices, and they trusted that they would elect the most suitable out of them: The Patriarch (of Antioch), similarly, and the prelates of the Province, if they would have some right in the election, agreed to confer it on them. They themselves, therefore, have given the matter due consideration, concerning the two nominated persons, preferably choosing you, nominated the same as pastor of the Church.

22.[27]

Given, however, that you are truly necessary for us in the regions of Lombardy as one to whom we may securely entrust the role of our vicar in difficult matters, nevertheless, on account of the urgent necessity, not only of the Jerusalem church, but of the whole Eastern province, bringing to us almost a certain violence, we warn your discretion and we exhort most attentively, and for the remission of sins we impose, imploring by means of the spilling of the blood of Jesus Christ that, consenting to the said nomination, you condescend to all the said desires, and accept the election made concerning you: lest you be seen to resist the divine will (which is, nevertheless, always carried out by those who are unwilling) if you do otherwise, prudently paying attention lest, the desire of the others being for you, you would not be able to reckon yourself guiltless if a less suitable or perhaps unworthy person were put in command

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[26] The other person nominated is not identified.

[27] [22] *Licet autem valde nobis necessarius sis, in partibus Lombardiæ, utpote cui secure in arduis negotiis committimus vices nostras; propter urgentem tamen necessitatem non solum ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, sed totius Orientalis provinciæ, quamdam nobis quasi violentiam inferentes, monemus discretionem tuam & exhortamur attentius, & in remissionem injungimus peccatorum, obsecrantes per aspersionem sanguinis Jesu Christi, quatenus dictæ nominationi consentiens, & prædictorum omnium desideriis condescendas, & electionem recipias de te factam: ne si aliter egeris, voluntati divinæ resistere videaris (quæ tamen & a nolentibus semper impletur) prudenter attendens, ne si persona minus idonea vel forsan indigna eidem præficeretur Ecclesiæ vestræ, desiderium aliquorum tibi propter conditionem tuam posses non immerito imputare. Nec laborem istum refugias, tamquam perficere nequeas quod exoptas: quia Deus non tam profectum remunerat quam laborem: [1 Cor. 3, 8] propter quod dicit Apostolus, Unusquisque propriam mercedem accipiet secundum suum laborem: [Sap 10, 17, 1 Cor. 15, 10] & alia Scriptura testatur, Reddet Deus mercedem laborum Sanctorum suorum: unde caute dixit Apostolus, Plus omnibus laboravi: nec dixit, Omnibus plus profeci: quamquam ex laboribus tuis profectus speremus non modicos proventuros.*

of the same, your, Church, on account of your situation.[28] Lest you take refuge [in] that work, just as you might be unable to complete what you long for: because God does not reward the progress as much as the work: on account of which the Apostle [Paul] says, 'Each one will receive the proper reward according to his work' (1 Cor 3:8) and another Scripture testifies, God grants 'the reward of their works' of his saints (Wis 10:17): from which the Apostle [Paul] says cautiously: 'I have worked more than all' (1 Cor 15,10): nor did he say, 'I have finished more than all': although we hope for no little fruit coming from your labours.

23.[29]

On behalf of the Lord and on account of the Lord, therefore, you will carry out concerning this apostolic command what it is not opportune for the hand of stricter severity to apply. For although, according to the canonical statute,[30] nobody unwilling is compelled to grow, nevertheless, according to legitimate sanctions, the unwilling are dragged somewhat towards the public offices. It is of importance, however, both to the apostolic see and to the Church in general, even, on the contrary, generally of all and singly of each of the faithful, to be crucified so that the same suitable person is put

[28] In the light of what follows, the situation in question would seem to have been some aspect of Albert's responsibilities as Bishop of Vercelli and his desire to complete that work.

[29] [23] *Taliter igitur pro Domino & propter Dominum super hoc mandatum Apostolicum exequaris, quod manum districtioris severitatis nos non oporteat exhibere. Nam etsi secundum statuta Canonica nullus invitus crescere compellatur, tamen juxta legitimas sanctiones aliqui ad publica munera trahuntur inviti. Interest autem tam Apostolicæ Sedis quam Ecclesiæ generalis, imo & generaliter omnium & singulariter singulorum fidelium Crucifixi, ut eidem Ecclesiæ persona præficiatur idonea in Pastorem. Nec tu tam ad honorem assumeris, quam ad onus: cum Ecclesia illa hodie plura habeat onera, quam honores. Ne turberis in aliquo, vel causeris quod præfatus Cardinalis S. Praxedis factam de se postulationem canonicam Sepulcri Dominici non admisit: quia forsan, sicut Sara Tobiæ, sic & ipsa fuit alii divino judicio reservata: vel fortassis hoc eum ad hanc oneris recusationem induxit, ne in partibus illis præsens existens videretur promotionem propriam procurasse; ac ex eo præsertim notam ambitionis incurreret, quod tum ad remotionem cujusdam perversæ personæ, quæ ad eamdem Ecclesiam fuerat improbe nominata, opportune ac importune, sicut ad ejus pertinebat officium, institisset; si amota illa factam de se postulationem postmodo acceptaret. Hisce litteris & mandatis Vercellensis Episcopus humiliter acquiescens, inquit compilator Actorum Innocentii, ad Apostolicam Sedem accessit; & in Patriarcham promotus, non solum Pallii ornamentum accepit, verum etiam officium Legationis promeruit, per quadriennium in sua provincia exercendum: jam jamque profectus, inde in Syriam navigavit.*

[30] This is probably a reference to D. 74 c. 2, whose modern equivalent would be *Codex Iuris Canonici* 2, col. 262, see Brenda Bolton, "'Serpent in the Dust: Sparrow on the Housetop': Attitudes to Jerusalem and the Holy Land in the Circle of Innocent III," *Studies in Church History* 36 (2000), 154-80: 171 n. 100.

> in charge of the Church as pastor, nor will you assume yours more as an honour than as a burden, since today that Church has more burdens than honours. Nor should you be disturbed or complain in any way because the above mentioned cardinal of St Praxade did not accept the postulation made by the canons of the Holy Sepulchre of the Lord concerning himself, because, perhaps, just as Sara was herself thus reserved by divine justice for the man Tobias (see Tob 6:11), or perhaps what induced him to that refusal of the burden was that, even if the withdrawing of a certain perverse person who had been improperly nominated to the same church was something that, conveniently and inconveniently, belonged to his office at that time, were he afterwards, being present in those parts, the other person having been removed,[31] to have accepted the postulation having been made concerning himself, it would be seen as seeking to procure his own promotion, and especially that he would incur the fame of ambition out of it.[32]

'Humbly giving assent' to these letters and commands, says the compiler of the Acts of Innocent,

> the Bishop of Vercelli approached the Apostolic See and, having been promoted to Patriarch, he not only accepted the mark of honour of the Pallium but he also, indeed, acquired the office of Legate to be exercised in his province for a four-year period.[33]

And having just then been promoted [in this way], 'he sailed from there for Syria'.[34]

24.[35] Nevertheless, lest you think that these things were done with such speed that, during the whole of this year 1204 and a good part of the

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[31] The incident referred to here, where the Apostolic Legate, Cardinal Gaetani, withdrew a person who had been nominated for the Patriarchate because of some impropriety, does not seem to have been recorded elsewhere.

[32] The text of the letter that has just been quoted was taken from the register of Pope Innocent III, see Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 2:81-84.

[33] See ibid., 2:84.

[34] See ibid.

[35] [24] *Hæc tamen ne tanta celeritate peracta existimes, ut ordinandis Ecclesiæ Vercellensis, quam dimittere oportebat, negotiis insumptus non fuerit totus hic annus MCCIV & bona pars anni sequentis, quo ipsum suum Successorem Lotharium consecrasse cum Episcopis conprovincialibus potuit. A Pontifice autem, ut dictum est, ordinatus, accepit ab eo litteras signatas XVI kalendas Maji, ad cunctos Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, Abbates, Priores, omnesque Christi fideles, tam indigenas quam peregrinos, in Hierosolymitana provincia*

following year, the one assuming that position[36] was not concerned with the affairs of the one needing to be ordained to the Diocese of Vercelli, which he was required to release, there, together with the Bishops of his province he consecrated Lothar, his very own successor.[37] Having been ordained by the Pope,[38] however, as has been said, he received from him letters, signed on the 16th day before the first of May,[39]

> to all the constituted Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and all the faithful of Christ, both indigenous and pilgrims, in the province of Jerusalem
>
> in which Innocent asserted that
>
> from the common counsel of the Brothers, he was sending the Venerable Patriarch of Jerusalem, once the Bishop of Vercelli,
>
> and to enjoin on him
>
> the office of Legate to the same in the same Province for a period of four years

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constitutos, quibus asserit Innocentius se, ex communi Fratrum consilio, Venerabilem Hierosolymitanum Patriarcham, olim Episcopum Vercellensem, mittere, illique ad quadriennium in eadem Provincia Legationis munus injungere, jubetque eum demisse atque humiliter, sicut se ipsum, excipere. Concedit etiam eidem Pontifex, ut quibuscumque absolutionis munus impertiatur: ut ii qui ex Italia cum ipso sunt, fruantur Præbendis: ut in quibusvis Provinciis (sine scandalo tamen & aliorum præjudicio) utatur Pallio; ut per certa tempora excusetur a visitatione Liminum: & alia complura privilegiæ addit. Ita instructus Albertus opportuno tempore cum Genuensium classe in Terram sanctam vela fecit, anno verosimiliter in hiemem vergente: ideoque Theodoricus Pauli annum sequentem, scilicet MCCVI primum Patriarchatus annum vocat.

[36] This refers to Albert as Patriarch-elect of Jerusalem.

[37] Contrary to what Papenbroeck asserts here, it would seem that Albert was not among those who ordained his successor, since Pope Innocent III's letter to bishop-elect Lothar of Vercelli, *Sicut dilectorum* (1206), asking him to implement the judgment that Albert had made on the dispute between the churches of Paciliano and Casale Sancti Evasii concerning the baptism of infants, was dated June 16th 1206, more than five months after Albert's departure for the Holy Land.

[38] Papenbroeck seems to presume here that Albert has already been ordained as Patriarch of Jerusalem when the letter he dates as April 16th 1205 was sent by Pope Innocent III. The number of letters relating to his appointment issued about the turn of the year 1205 to 1206 suggests, however, that it was only then that Albert was consecrated as Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem.

[39] In other words, April 16th. The letter in question, *Mediator Dei* of June 16th 1205, is paraphrased by Ughelli, who gives its date correctly and cites his source as 'Regest. Vatic. Numero 100, lib. 8'. See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1094. It would seem that Papenbroeck read the date as the 16th day before the kalends of May (*Maii*) rather than as the 16th day before the kalends of July (*Julii*).

and he commanded that [they] 'receive him in a lowly' and humble 'manner just as [they would receive] his very self.'[40] The Pope

> also granted to the same one that he might confer the office of absolution on whomsoever he wished so that those who were with him from Italy might enjoy the praebends; that (without scandal, nevertheless, and without prejudice to others) he could use the Pallium in whichever Provinces he wished; that he would be excused for a certain period of time from *ad limina* visits, and he added a great many other privileges.[41]

Thus instructed, at the opportune time, Albert set sail for the Holy Land with the fleet of Genoa[42] during the winter, at the turn of the year, and, indeed, for that reason, very likely, Tierri Pauwels named the following year, 1206 to be sure, as the first year of the Patriarchate.[43]

25.[44] Albert lived in Acre or Ptolemais, where the Latin Patriarchs had their refuge after Jerusalem was captured by the Saracens, although there was a particular Bishop in that place who, in the time of Bl. Albert, was Walter, whose seal, also, together with the seal of Albert, Ughelli testifies to be seen appended below to a judgment needing to be remembered.[45] The matter remained in that state, however, up until the Pontificate of Urban IV who, seeing that the hope and the struggle to restore the city of Jerusalem in its entirety was being protracted for a long time, and as the consecrated Patriarch did not consent to meet [him], remaining always just as a guest in a foreign city, united the Episcopate of Acre

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[40] See ibid.

[41] See ibid.

[42] Ibid.

[43] See the following manuscript then in the *Musee des Bollandistes*: Tierri Pauwels, "Chronicon universale Theodorici Pauli", ed. Van Hulthem library: Musée des Bollandistes, 786, c. 1488. On this manuscript, see F. de Reiffenberg et al., eds., *Messager des sciences et des arts de la Belgique, ou Nouvelles Archives Historiques, Littéraires et scientifiques. Tome sixieme* (Gand: Imprimerie de Léonard Hebbelynck, 1838), 353-353.

[44] [25] *Vixit Albertus Accone seu Ptolemaide, ubi post captam a Saracenis Hierosolymam refugium suum habuere Patriarchæ Latini; quamvis ibi proprius esset Episcopus, qui tempore B. Alberti fuit Galterius; cujus etiam sigillum, una cum sigillo Alberti appensum infra commemorandæ sententiæ, videri testatur Vghellus. Mansit autem res in eo statu, usque ad Pontificatum Vrbani IV: qui videns Hierosolymitanæ urbis in integrum restituendæ spem conatusque in longum protrahi; neque convenire censens, ut Patriarcha consecratus, semper in aliena urbe velut hospes diversaretur; Patriarchatui Episcopatum Acconensem univit, uti alibi plenius deducetur. Errant igitur, qui existimant, Albertum etiam Acconensem; multo magis, qui nominum vicinitate decepti, dicunt Ascalonensem Episcopum fuisse.*

[45] See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1099-1100.

with the Patriarchate, as is more fully outlined elsewhere.[46] Those who think that Albert was also [the Bishop of] Acre are mistaken, therefore, and more so those who, misled by a name in the region, say that he was the Bishop of Ascalon.

26.[47] Afterwards the already often celebrated Pope presented many letters to the same Albert. One may see them edited by Bosquet but, here, it will be enough for us to indicate their contents in the manner that Bosquet prefixes them to those letters. There is, therefore, in the second book, Letter 104, given on the 8th day before the first of October[48] in the 1211th year of Christ, the 14th year of the Pontificate, which he sent so that

> ... he might warn Hugh, the King of Cyprus, that he might receive his Constable into [his] favour.[49]

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[46] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):lviii.

[47] [26] *Plures postea ad eumdem Albertum litteras dedit jam sæpe memoratus Pontifex. Videre eas licet editas a Bosqueto: nobis satis hic erit earum argumenta indicasse, quomodo ea Epistolis Bosquetus præfixit. Est ergo lib. 2 Epistola 104 data VIII kalend. Octobris anno Pontificatus XIV Christi MCCXI, qua mandat ut Hugonem, Regem Cypri, moneat, ut suum Comestabulum in gratiam recipiat. Idem Epistola 134 data III kalendas Ianuarii jubet, ut cognoscat de Archiepiscopi Nicosiensis in Cypro electione, cujus Pallium ei mittit. Epistola 147, scripta Idibus Januarii anno MCCXII, monet ut hortetur Principes Orientales ad commutationem Christianorum captivorum cum paganis. Lib. 3 Epistola 179 hortatur Patriarchas Antiochenum & Hierosolymitanum, ut quorumdam de se querelæ medeantur: data ea est VI Idus Octobris anni prænotati. Epistola 208, data V Idus Ianuarii anno MCCXIII, mandatur Patriarchæ Hierosolymitano, Apostolicæ Sedis Legato, & suffraganeis ejus, ut populos in Regis fide confirment. Libri 4 Epistola 7, in qua deficit datæ dies & annus, qui hic ipse fuit, committitur Alberto, ut Regem Armeniæ absolvat, & Comitem Tripolitanum ad judicium Ecclesiæ subeundum compellat. Ast apud Ferd. Vghellum tom. 4 Italiæ sacræ in Episcopis Ianuensibus col. 1222 habetur Epistola, data III Idus Ianuarii Pontificatus anno XVI, qua, intellecto quod Episcopus & Capitulum Acconense, denegarent Chrisma, gratis dandum ecclesiis juxta Concilii Carthaginensis decretum, absque pretio exhibere Acconensi Genuensium ecclesiæ S. Laurentii; mandat Patriarchæ, ut eosdem Episcopum & Capitulum efficaciter moneat & inducat, ut sicut ipse Pontifex dederat in præceptis (qua de re ibidem extat alia ad ipsos ejusdem fere tenoris epistola) a tam inhonesto & interdicto commercio desistentes, Chrisma gratis de cetero ecclesiæ memoratæ concedant: quia venalitates hujusmodi abominatur religio ecclesiasticæ honestatis & sacris obviant institutis. Ex quibus duabus similis tenoris epistolis, altera Patriarchæ, altera Episcopo inscripta eodem anno ac die, magis etiam demonstratur quod diximus, quo tempore Acconem incolebat Albertus, suum ipsam proprium habuisse Episcopum.*

[48] September 24th.

[49] See Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 1:249.

In the same place, letter 134 given on the third day before the first of January[50] bids

> ... that he recognise the election concerning the Archbishop of Nicosia in Cyprus whose Pallium he sends to him.[51]

Letter 147, written on the ides of January[52] in the 1212th year, warns

> ... that he urge the Eastern Princes towards the exchange of Christian captives with the pagans.[53]

In book 3, Letter 179, given on the sixth day before the ides of October[54] in the already mentioned year, urges the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem 'that they remedy certain matters of a complaint concerning themselves.'[55] Letter 208, given on the fifth day before the ides of January[56] in the year 1213, commissions

> ... the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Legate of the Apostolic See, and his suffragan [bishops] so that they confirm the people of the Kingdom in the faith.[57]

In book 4, Letter seven, in which the day and year in which it was itself given are missing, enjoins on Albert

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[50] December 30th.

[51] See, for example, Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 1:274.

[52] January 13th.

[53] See Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 1:282.

[54] October 10th.

[55] See Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 1:443.

[56] January 9th.

[57] See Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV. XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo...* 1:481.

> ... that he absolve the King of Armenia and that he compel the Count of Tripoli to submit to the judgment of the Church.[58]

Moreover, in column 1222 for the Bishops of Genoa of volume four of Ferdinand Ughelli's *Italia sacra*, there is a Letter, given on the third day before the Ides of January,[59] the 16th year of the Pontificate, from which I understand that the Bishop and Chapter of Acre refused to deliver to the church of St Lawrence, the church of the Genoese at Acre, the Chrism that, according to the decree of the Council of Carthage, should be given for nothing and without payment to the churches. It commands the Patriarch and it efficaciously warns and encourages the same Bishop and Chapter that, just as the Pope himself had given in precepts (insofar as, concerning the same matter, another letter to the same in almost the same sense is extant)

> ... desisting from such a dishonest and prohibited trade, they concede the Chrism for free in the future to the said church, because the piety of ecclesiastical honesty detests commercial activities of this kind and they oppose the sacred institutions.[60]

What we have said, that in the time that Albert was living at Acre, the same had its own proper bishop, is also further demonstrated from those two letters similar in content that were written on the same day and year, one to the Patriarch, the other to the Bishop.[61]

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[58] See ibid., 1:527.

[59] January 11th.

[60] See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1222

[61] See ibid., 4:1222-1223.

27.[62] Furthermore, the last[63] of all of the Letters of Innocent to the said Albert is number 36 in book four, given on the 12th day before the first of March,[64] in which he is enjoined

> That the Apostolic messengers to the Sultan[65] be conducted forth and that he himself[66] ensure that he be present to the ecumenical Council.[67]

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[62] [27] *Omnium porro ad Albertum prædictum extrema in libro 4 Epistolarum Innocentii est 36, data XII kalendas Martii, qua ei injungitur, ut nuntios Apostolicos ad Soldanum deduci, & ipse Concilio adesse satagat œcumenico: quod isto anno indictum, anno sequenti mensibus Novembri & Decembri celebratum est Romæ in ecclesia Lateranensi quartum: cum ultra tredecim menses vita functus esset Albertus. In prædicta autem Epistola præcipuam considerationem merentur hæc Pontificis verba: Quia vero tuam nobis præsentiam, ad hoc salutare propositum exequendum, valde credimus necessariam, imo quam maxime fructuosam; Fraternitatem tuam rogandam duximus & monendam, per Apostolicam tibi scriptionem mandantes, quatenus, si videris posse fieri absque gravi dispendio Terræ-sanctæ, præfixum ad universale Concilium celebrandum, quam cito poteris, satagas terminum prævenire: ducens aliquos viros tecum, in consilio providos & in commisso fideles, qui plene noverint circumstantias causarum & rerum, temporum & locorum; quibus undique circumspectis, ad liberationem hæreditatis Dominicæ, utilius intendere valeamus. Tu denique, Venerabilis Frater in Christo, tuarum nobis, apud justissimum Judicem & piissimum Patrem, orationum impertire suffragium, quo plurimum indigemus. Eodem anno Accone sententiam tulit Albertus, II Idus Aprilis, de burgesia Agnetis Gastaldi, inter Ianuenses & Pisanos ibidem controversa, unde acceptum illius sigillum infra datur; ipsa vero sententia legi potest apud Vghellum. Et hæc quidem omnia definitis singula annis constant, non item duo alia puncta, quæ de eodem sancto Patriarcha notat Sixtus Senensis lib. 4 Bibliothecæ sacræ hisce verbis: Albertus, Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus, vir sanctitatis & doctrinæ admirandæ, qui Fratribus Carmelitis, adhuc in Terra-sancta commorantibus, vivendi formam regulamque dedit; jussu Innocentii Papæ ejus nominis tertii scripsit de situ & statu Terræ-sanctæ non contemnendos Commentarios. De Regula, quando Carmelitis data videatur, infra disquiremus: quandonam vero de Terra-sancta scribere Albertus jussus sit, scire non magni refert: potius optandum est, ut ipsi illi Commentarii alicubi inveniantur, & ex tenebris prodeant in lucem publicam.*

[63] There were, in fact, two further letters addressed to Albert by Pope Innocent III, one (*Vitium pravitatis*) on July 25th 1213 and another (*Ex parte*) on December 16th 2013, see *Vitium pravitatis* (1213), manuscript", in *Vatican Archives* Vatican, Reg. Vat. 8, a. XVI, fol. 156v, n. 90, 1213; August Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum 1198-1304*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Rudolphi de Decker, 1874-1875), 1:424 n. 4858.

[64] In modern terms, February 18th 1213. Halušč̆ynskyj, Marie-Joseph du Sacre-Coeur, and Potthast give the date as April 26th 1213, see Theodosy T. Halušč̆ynskyj, *Acta Innocentii PP. III (1198-1216)... E registris Vaticanis aliisque eruit, introductione auxit, notisque illustravit P. Theodosius Halušc□ynskyj. [With a map.]*, Acta Romanorum pontificum. 2 (Rome: Vatican City, 1944), 444-447 n. 207; Marie-Joseph du Sacre-Coeur OCD, "Saint Albert de Verceil," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, ed. Alfred Baudrillart, et al. (Paris: Letouzey et Ane, 1912), 1564-1567: 1565; Potthast, *Regesta*, 1:409 n. 4720.

[65] The Sultan in question was Seif ed-Din or Sephadin, the Sultan of Damascus and of Cairo.

[66] This refers to Albert.

[67] See Bosquet, *Innocentii tertii... Epistolarum libri quatuor regestorum XIII. XIV.*

In that year [1213], it was established that the Fourth [Lateran Council] was to be celebrated in the Lateran Church in Rome in the months of November and December of the following year, when Albert would have [already] discharged [his] life for over thirteen months. In the said letter, however, these words of the Pope merit particular consideration:

> Because indeed we believe your presence with us to be very necessary, indeed the most fruitful, for the carrying out of this salvific commitment, we have ordered your fraternity to be asked and warned, by means of what has been sent to you by an apostolic writing so that, if you will see it to be possible to be done without grave cost to the Holy Land, as soon as you can bring things to a conclusion, to come to the already established and universally to be celebrated council, leading some men with you, prudent in counsel and faithful in what has been committed to them, who will be fully conversant with the circumstances of the causes and things, times and places: on all sides things having been examined by them, we may be able more usefully to seek for the liberation of the heredity of the Lord. You, in short, venerable brother in Christ, bestow on us the approbation of your prayers near the most just judge and the most devoted Father, of which we are very much in need.[68]

In that same year, on the second day before the Ides of April,[69] Albert gave a judgement at Acre concerning the tenement[70] of Agnes Gastaldus, a controversy in the same place that was between the Genoese and the Pisans, of which [judgment] the seal it bears is given below, indeed the same judgment can be read in Ughelli.[71] And, indeed, all these individual things correspond to particular years. Not so are the other two points that Sisto da Siena OP notes concerning the same holy Patriarch in book four of the *Bibliotheca sacra* in these words:

> By the command of Pope Innocent III, Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, a man of admirable holiness and learning, who gave a

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XV. XVI. ex ms. bibliothecae collegii fuxensis Tolosae nunc primum edunt sodales ejusdem collegii et notis illustrat Franciscus Bosquetus,... - Francisci Bosqueti in epistolas Innocenti III... notae, quibus praefixa sunt ejusdem Innocentii... gesta, autore anonymo... 1:562.

[68] See ibid., 1:563.

[69] In modern terms, April 12th.

[70] See "burgensis/burgesia" in Jan Frederick Niermeyer, C. van de Kieft, and J. W. J. Burgers, *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus. Lexique latin médiéval - Medieval Latin Dictionary - Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch*, 2 vols. (Leiden & Boston: E. J. Brill, 2002), 1:144.2 vols. (Leiden & Boston: E. J. Brill, 2002

[71] See Ughelli, *Italia sacra (1662)*, 4:1099-1100.

> Formula of Life and a Rule[72] to the Carmelite Brothers when they were still in the Holy Land, wrote non-condemnatory commentaries concerning the position and state of the Holy Land.[73]

Concerning the Rule, when it is seen to be given to the Carmelites, we will investigate below. For, indeed, it is not of great interest when Albert might have been bidden to write concerning the Holy Land. It is to be desired, rather, that that same Commentary be discovered somewhere and that it be brought out of the darkness into public light.

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[72] There was, in fact, no difference between what is described as the Rule and what was, in fact, the Formula of Life that Albert handed down to the Carmelites.

[73] See Sisto da Siena OP, *Bibliotheca Sancta criticis, ac theologicis animadversionibus ... tomus primus* (Naples: ex typographia Mutiana, 1792), 4:305.

Chapter 4

The Death of Bl. Albert and [His] Cult in the Order of the Carmelites.[1]

Albert was killed at a religious solemnity in Acre: Marino Sanuto confirms this. Some wrote, indeed, about a certain thing that was done in Jerusalem, and they obscure the truth with fables: Saraceni in the *Menologium Carmeliticum*,[2] by means of some weak-mindedness in investigating the truth, imagines him having died by a bloodless death. Having been named nowhere in their manuscript calendars, having been introduced from a practice of the year 1500 approximately, in which manner the readings concerning St Peter Thomas were also included, Albert is honoured among the Carmelites. Now, however, by means of an explicit indult, the Canons Regular include Albert with their Saints, but without a public cult, nor indeed do the people of Vercelli add the title of Blessed, but Ferrero added 'Martyr', naming September 14th. If some did not disapprove the unloosing in the case of Bl. Angela,[3] it was to be put off to that day[4] by us.[5]

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[1] *CAPUT IV. Obitus B. Alberti & Cultus in Ordine Carmelitarum.*

[2] The correct title is *Menologium Carmelitarum.*

[3] Because she was not canonised until 1807, St Angela de Merici is described here as Blessed. Having died on January 27th 1540, she was not included in the Tridentine Calendar (1570) of Pope Pius V and, during the century following her death, her feastday was celebrated, not on January 27th (because it clashed with the feastday of St John Chrysostom), but on January 4th (or, in other martyrologies, January 3rd). In keeping with this practice, the Bolandists opted to present her dossier, not on January 27th, but on January 4th, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 1 (Jan I):186-234.

[4] Papenbroeck had intended dealing with Albert in the *Acta Sanctorum* for September 14th, then many years in the future, but because some had approved a similar unloosing in the case of St Angela de Merici, he had decided to deal with Albert on the day his feast was then celebrated by the Canons Regular, April 8th.

[5] *Accone occisum in supplicatione Albertum, Confirmat Marinus Sanutus; id Hierosolymis factum scribunt quidam, & veritatem fabulis obnubilant; Saracenus in Menol. Carmelitico, per aliquam veri investigandi socordiam, incruenta morte obiisse eum fingit. Colitur apud Carmelitas Albertus, in Mss. eorum kalendariis nusquam nominatus, ex usu circa an 1500 inducto, quomodo etiam habebantur lectiones de S. Petro Thoma; nunc autem*

28.[6] 'During the course of eight years', counting from the arrival in the Holy Land, the same Albert

> lived in such a holy and praiseworthy way that he was loved as a most holy father not only by the Christians with whom he lived but also that he was held in great reverence and veneration by the Saracens and pagans. Indeed, after he had put on his pontifical robes, and on that glorious day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross[7] was solemnly carrying out the procession of the Holy Cross of the city of Acre with his clergy, a certain diabolical man from Caluso in the diocese of Ivrea [Italy], whom the same father had corrected concerning his excesses, stabbed the same venerable man with a knife and killed him and thus the glorious father moved out of this life by means of the palm of the martyrs. Before that, nevertheless, he honoured his one-time bride, this church, by his precious gifts – i.e. a decorated chasuble of white silk cloth made for the pontifical garb for use by the bishop, with the same cathedral depicted, a chasuble, a cope, a dalmatic, and a subdeacon's garment - in her memory. Over and above this, two crystal water pots decorated in gold and silver and also a sceptre adorned with silver and crystal for use by cantors.

Wholly approved, for the greater part, [but] also, for the others who do not say so explicitly elsewhere, considered most worthy of trust, the Vercelli manuscript that the consensus, undoubtedly, regards as the touch-

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per expressum indultum, Canonici Reg. suis Sanctis annumerant Albertum, sed absque cultu publico, Vercellenses ne quidem titulum Beati addunt, sed addidit Ferrarius, Martyrem vocans 14 Septembr. Erat a nobis ad istum diem differendus, si dilationem in B. Angela non improbassent aliqui.

[6] [28] *Dum per octo annos, ab adventu in Terram-sanctam numerandos, ibidem tam sancte & laudabiliter vixisset, Albertus, ut non solum a Christianis, qui eum tamquam Patrem sanctissimum diligebant, verum etiam a Saracenis & Paganis in reverentia magna & veneratione haberetur; diabolicus quidam vir, de loco Caluxii, Eporediensis diœcesis, quem idem Pater de suis excessibus corrigebat, eumdem venerabilem virum, Pontificalibus indutum, & in hac die gloriosa Exaltationis sanctæ Crucis, in ecclesia sanctæ Crucis civitatis Acconensis, processionem cum Clero solenniter agentem, cultello petiit & occidit: & sic gloriosus Pater per Martyrii palmam ex hac vita migravit. Prius tamen hujus [Vercellensis] ecclesiæ sponsæ suæ memor, pretiosis eam donariis honoravit; videlicet candidis sericis paramentis ad indumenta Pontificalia facienda, scilicet Planetam, Pluviale, Dalmaticam, Tunitellam: item Cathedra deaurata ad usum Episcopi, insuper duobus urceolis crystallinis auro argentoque decoratis, & bacilla cum urceolo magno, & baculis de crystallo ornatis ad usum Cantorum. In his finitur Ms. Vercellense, quod ad Lydium veritatis lapidem, consensum scilicet aliorum ejusdem temporis monumentorum, pro parte majori comprobatum, pro ceteris quoque alibi non expreßis debet haberi fide dignißimum. Econtra narrationes, ab his diversæ, licet forte contineant aliqua, auctori tam fido non contraria, sed præterita, quæ proinde vera esse poßint; tamen iis ipsis quæ forsitan vera dicunt, non tribuunt, sed derogant veri similitudinem, qua niti prudens lector poßit.*

[7] September 14th.

stone of the truth of the other documents of his time, is brought to an end at these [words]. On the contrary, rather, the narratives that are different from these, although, by chance, they might contain certain things that might even be true, not contrary to, but [written] earlier than, such a trusted author, those very things that are called true, nevertheless, do not impart, but could diminish, the true likeness that the prudent reader depends on.

29.[8] If Jacques de Vitry, the Bishop of Acre, wanted to continue the History that Archbishop William of Tyre abandoned incomplete in book 23[9] in the same style that he himself used, we would have little more concerning the things that were done by Albert in the East and concerning his death. Certainly, perhaps, we might understand with what mourning of the Clergy and people he was buried, with what veneration and cult Albert was honoured by the public, and also if he was regarded as a Blessed or a Saint because he suffered a violent death on behalf of Christian virtue, certainly, if not on behalf of the faith. But, under the name *Historia Ierosolymitana*,[10] Jacques preferred to produce a description of the Holy Land according to the inhabitants, places, religions and the assaults and successes of the battles of more celebrated cities: Not even the name of so great a man is found, therefore, in the whole of that history. In the year 1321, Marino Sanuto, known as Torsello, born out of the dominion of Venice, presented three books to John XXII, the title of which was *The Secrets of the Faithful of*

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[8] [29] *Si Iacobus de Vitriaco, Acconensis Episcopus, Historiam prosequi voluisset, quam Guilielmus Tyrius Archiepiscopus in libro 23 imperfectam dimisit, eumdemque stylum quem ipse tenere; haud paulo plura de rebus ab Alberto gestis in Oriente, deque ejus morte haberemus; fortaßis etiam intelligeremus, quo Cleri populique luctu sepultus, qua veneratione & cultu honoratus sit a vulgo Albertus, atque pro Beato & Sancto habitus, velut qui mortem, si non pro fide, certe pro virtute Christiana violentam sustinuerat. Sed Iacobus, sub nomine Hierosolymitanæ historiæ, maluit Terræ sanctæ concinnare descriptionem, quoad incolas, loca, religionem, celebriorumque urbium expugnationes & prœliorum successus: itaque ne nomen quidem tanti viri in tota hac historia reperitur. Marinus Sanutus, dictus Torsellus, ex Veneta ditione natus, anno MCCCXXI obtulit Ioanni XXII libros tres, quorum quia scopus erat recuperationem Terræ-sanctæ tentandam & facile perficiendam suadere, ideo titulus est, Secreta fidelium Crucis: agit autem tali modo consultorem, ut quandoque, præsertim in libro 3, Historicum profiteri videatur. Pars certe XI libri istius in titulo promittit Passagia, variumque statum ac dominia Terræ promissionis, a morte Saladini usque ad transitum S. Ludovici, atque per dilucidam, sed brevem chronographiam, anni cujusque res præcipuas attingit: ubi caput 5 finiens in anno MCCXIV, Eodem, inquit anno Albertus Patriarcha Hierosolymitanus in supplicatione mortuus est. Pauca verba, sed multa pro eo, qui nullius alterius Patriarchæ mortem memoria sua dignatus est: hoc ipso indicans Alberti mortem a se notari, tamquam casum singulariter commemorandum: neque* τὸ mortuus *ita significat generaliter vita functum, ut non etiam, ex familiari Venetis idiotismo, frequenter significet trucidatum.*

[9] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1043 (2.23).

[10] See ibid.; Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, trans. Aubrey Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 11/2 (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1896).

the Cross[11] because their purpose was to promote the attempted and easily brought about recovery of the Holy Land. In this manner, however, he misleads the one who consults him just as, especially in book three, the Historian [himself] is seen to openly acknowledge. Certainly, the eleventh part of that book promises in the title, 'The Expeditions, and of the Various States and Dominions of the Land of Promise, from the death of Saladin up to the Passing Over of St Louis',[12] and also for the sake of a clear, but brief, chronology of the year and of the particular things that affect it, where chapter five is finishing, in the year 1214, he says:

> In the same year, Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem' was killed at a religious solemnity.[13]

Few words, but, by virtue of it, many things [can be said]: by this very thing, the one [for whom] the death of no other Patriarch was worthy of his recollection indicating that the death of Albert was to be noted by him just as a case needing to be commemorated in a singular manner; nor, in this way, does the word 'died (*mortuus*)' signify, in a general way, that life had just been discharged as, also, from the familiar common speech of Venice, it frequently signified one killed in a cruel fashion.

30.[14] What of the Carmelites, however? In their own [case], also, commemorating old things impeded them so that they could not speak

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[11] See Marino (Torsello) Sanuto, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis super terrae sanctae recuperatione et conservatione* (Hannover: typis Wechelianis apud heredes Ioannis Aubrii, 1611).

[12] See ibid., 202.

[13] See ibid., 240.

[14] [30] *Quid autem Carmelitæ? Sua in antiquis rebus commemorandis infelicitas hic quoque impedivit eos ne verum dicere possent absque falsi admixtione, ac deinde ab eodem omnino devtare fecit. Magister Baptista Cataneus in speculo Ordinis Fratrum B. Virginis de monte Carmeli, apud Stephanum Ferrerium, scriptor tam antiquus ut neque Gesnero neque Lucio Belgæ in Bibliotheca Carmelitica innotuerit; Ante Concilium, inquit, Lateranense videlicet IV, per annum & dimidium, ipse Albertus moriebatur, occisus a Saracenis in Hierusalem, in una solenni processione de sancta Cruce. Ioannes de Vineta, qui teste Gesnero claruit anno MCCCXLVIII Carmelitarum per Franciam Provincialis, in Chronico sui ordinis apud Marcum Antonium Alegre de Casanate ad annum Christi MCCXXXIV, annis viginti scilicet serius quam par erat; ita loquitur suis vel Alegræi verbis (neque enim ad manus est ipse auctor) Hunc, Albertum nempe, ferunt, toto discerptum corpore, fuisse a Barbaris pugionibus fustibusque dirissime agitatum in viis Hierusalem, dum ad ægrotos Dominicum Christi corpus deferret, vel, ut alii asserunt, dum Pontificalem processionem contra fidei inimicos, ut divinum imploraret auxilium, faceret, pro Pastorali munere suo. Ne autem errorem, in nomine urbis exprimendo, putet aliquis calami fuisse, non scriptoris, notandum Hierosolymam tunc fuisse sub dominio Saracenorum, ubi nisi Albertum occisum credidisset, scelus*

the truth without the admixture of something false, and, afterwards, it made them deviate from the same truth altogether. In *The Mirror of the Order of the Brothers of the Bl. Virgin from the Mountain of Carmel*, which is among [the writings of] Stefano Ferrero,[15] Master Baptista Cattaneo, a writer so ancient that[16] he was known to neither Gesner[17] nor Luci the Belgian in the *Bibliotheca Carmelitica*,[18] says:[19]

> The same Albert was dead for a year and a half before the Fourth Council,
>
> of the Lateran, clearly,
>
> killed by the Saracens in Jerusalem, in a solemn procession concerning the Holy Cross.

In his Chronicle of the Order, which is among [the writings] of Marco Anthonio Alegre de Casanate for the year 1234[20] - he was, of course, 20 years later than the correct year -, Jean de Venette, who, as Gesner testifies,[21] appeared in the year 1348 as the Provincial of the Carmelites throughout France, speaks thus in his own words or in those of Alegre (for the author himself is not at hand): 'This one', Albert, to be sure,

> having been driven to and fro by the Barbarians in the streets of Jerusalem, they wounded, the whole body torn to pieces by daggers and cudgels, while he carried the Dominical body of Christ to the

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tam immane in eo patratum numquam scripsisset: quid enim tale in Acconensi civitate, quæ tota Christianorum Latinorum erat, auderent barbari, mox lapidibus obruendi vel a pueris? Confirmans autem errores Alegræus (ex Vinetæ an ex alio nescio) subjungit: Claruerat temporibus Friderici II; & sub summo principe Patrum Gregorio nono, annis Christi MCCXXXIV, sepultus est Hierosolymis. Ita ille in loco æque ac tempore aberrans.

[15] See Ferrerius (Ferrero), *Sancti Eusebii Vercellensis*, 183.

[16] Given that Cataneo was the contemporary of one and only sixty years older than the other of the writers mentioned, this comment should be understood as ironic.

[17] See Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero: Deinde in Epitomen redacta (per C. Lycosthenem)... & aucta per Iosiam Simlerum : Iam veró... amplificata, per Iohannem Iacobum Frisium Tigurinum* (Zurich: excudebat Christophorus Froschoverus, 1583), 99.

[18] As in n. 72, the correct title is *Carmelitana Bibliotheca*, see Petrus Luci O.Carm., *Carmelitana Bibliotheca, sive illustrium aliquot Carmelitanæ religionis scriptorum et eorum operum catalogus* (Florence: Apud Georgium Marescottum, 1593).

[19] See Giovanni Battista Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum Ordinis Fratrum Carmelitarum noviter impressum* (Venice: Apud Lucantonium Juntanum, 1507), 58.

[20] See Alegre de Casanate, *Paradisus Carmelitici decoris*, 259.

[21] See Gesner, *Bibliotheca instituta et collecta, primum a Conrado Gesnero: Deinde in Epitomen redacta (per C. Lycosthenem)... & aucta per Iosiam Simlerum : Iam veró... amplificata, per Iohannem Iacobum Frisium Tigurinum*, 406, 508.

> sick or, as others assert, while, on account of his Pastoral role, he was making a Pontifical procession to implore divine help against the enemies of the faith.

Lest, however, anyone think the error in portraying the name of the city was one of the pen, not of the writer, it is to be noted that Jerusalem, where it was to be believed that Albert was killed, in which it was never written that such a monstrous crime had been executed, was then under the rule of the Saracens. To be sure, what would the Barbarians, who would soon be overwhelmed with stones or, indeed by the young men, have dared to do in the city of Acre, which was entirely of Latin Christians? However, confirming the errors, Alegre (whether from de Venette or from another I do not know) annexes [the following]:

> He was famous in the times of Frederick II, and he was buried in Jerusalem under the highest prince of the Fathers, Gregory IX, in the 1234th year of Christ.

That one,[22] thus erring equally in the place and in the time.[23]

31.[24] It will have been something inclining one to forgive Saraceni if, following the same one, Cattaneo and de Venette had also delivered something similar in any way whatever to what he had written, for it could have [shown] their trustworthiness, such ancient authors having been brought forth. On the other hand, however, it is something inclining one to forgive him[25] that one cannot follow those things that one

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[22] This refers, clearly, to Mark Anthony Alegre de Casanate.

[23] In other words, erring as to both the place and the date of Albert's death.

[24] [31] *Ignoscendum Saraceno fuerat, si Cataneum & Vinetam, secutus ipse etiam simile quid scripsisset: poterat enim fidem suam, productis auctoribus tam antiquis, utcumque liberare. Rursum autem ignoscendum est ei, quod sequi non potuit quos vidit numquam: nam neque nos hactenus eos vidimus. Sed qui possumus illi ignoscere, quod Bononiæ scribens & librum suum imprimens anno MDCXXVIII, postquam ex Pennotto intellexerat, tradi item, Albertum Episcopum fuisse Vercellensem ex Canonico sanctæ Crucis Mortariensis, non curaverit ad civitatem Italicam non remotißimam, ubi suus ordo antiquum & celebrem conventum habet, epistolium scribere, quærereque num quid istic nossent de Alberto Vercellensi Episcopo? Fuisset enim illi responsum a Fratribus, annos non plures esse quam viginti quatuor, quod Stephanus Ferrerius, Episcopus Vercellensis etiam ipse, accuratißimo commentario eruderavit memorias authenticas suorum omnium antecessorum. Aliquid tamen, non legisse, sed audivisse fatetur, ad iis qui Ferrerium legerant acceptum, dum in notis ad Vitam sic pronuntiat: Sunt qui asserant D. Albertum nostrum mucrone vulneratum, die quo solennem sanctissimæ Crucis processionem instituebat, & ad Dominum Martyrio migrasse: sed nullo certo fundamento scriptum invenimus. Imo S. Alberti Officium de uno sancto Episcopo & Confessore, solenni ritu concelebrandum in rituali nostro & kalendario aperte injungitur.*

[25] The pronoun refers, presumably, to Saraceni.

never saw, for, so far, we have also not seen them.[26] But, 'It being also passed on' that Albert

> had been the Bishop of Vercelli from a Canon of the Holy Cross of Mortara,

how can we ignore that thing of the one from Bologna,[27] writing and publishing his book in the year 1628,[28] which one will have learned afterwards from Pennotto, that he[29] will not have troubled himself to write a short letter to an Italian city[30] that was not the most remote where his Order has an ancient and famous convent and to ask about what they might know concerning Albert the Bishop of Vercelli? There would certainly have been a response from the Brothers to that one,[31] for it was not more than twenty-four years since Stefano Ferrero, himself also the Bishop of Vercelli, had constructed from what remained a most accurate commentary of all the authentic memories of his predecessors. Nevertheless, to those who read Ferrero, he[32] confesses something having been accepted that he did not read, but heard, something that he makes publicly known thus in the notes to the Life:

> There are those who assert that, on a day in which a solemn procession of the most holy Cross was arranged, our Lord Albert was wounded with a sharp point and was departing to the Lord by martyrdom, but we have found no certain written foundation for this. On the contrary, the Office of St Albert that should be celebrated in our ritual and that is clearly enjoined in the Calendar is that of one holy Bishop and Confessor.[33]

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[26] The point being made by Papenbroeck would seem to be that, unless it had been written earlier than the death of Cattaneo in 1532, neither de Venette, writing in the 14th century, nor Cattaneo, who died in 1532, could have quoted what they had not seen and, since he (Papenbroeck) had not discovered such an account earlier than 1532 either, Saraceni might be correct in his claim. It seems clear, however, that he is being ironic and that, rather than being the result of others failing to find what did exist, it was the case, rather, that Saraceni, writing after the death of Cattaneo, was claiming the existence of an early source for what he was saying when one did not, in fact, exist.

[27] In other words, Saraceni.

[28] First published in 1627, Papenbroeck seems to have had to hand an edition drawn up in 1628, see Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*.

[29] This refers, presumably, to Pennotto.

[30] Vercelli, clearly.

[31] This refers to Saraceni.

[32] This refers to Saraceni.

[33] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 265 n. 29.

32.[34] What that ritual and calendar might be, we will see shortly, [but] I ask in what place he finds these written things to have a 'certain foundation'? 'Our Holy Father Albert, six [years] having already been completed', he was gathering about a hundred [years], to be sure, to make 1142 - he had probably not been born then, indeed - the year in which he might report that the priesthood was begun

> ... full of holy works, drenched with many perspirations on behalf of the Catholic Church, dear to heaven and earth, among our sighing and praying Hermits, together with the Jerusalem clergy, after receiving the customary Sacraments, having poured out prayers to God on account of the liberation of the Holy Land from the hands of infidels, on account of the conservation of the restored Carmel and the Catholic faith of the people of Jerusalem, the Virgin Mary trembling and hastening to meet him among the splendours, with a cohort of Angels happily accompanying [him] to God, his soul between their arms, he breathed his last with a happy face on the 8th day of April in the 1213th year of salvation.[35]

He did not wander much in the year. Thus, from that Life,[36] the day[37] that, in former times, the whole Order began to have as a festive [day] in memory of Albert by no means designated the very one whom it was believed had departed.[38] Immediately, the dead man compels no-

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[34] [32] *Quod illud Rituale ac kalendarum sit, mox videbimus: quæro ego quo certo fundamento scripta invenit hæc? S. P. N. Albertus, senio jam tandem confectus (nempe centenarium circiter cogebat facere annus MCXLII quo Sacerdotio initiatum pronuntiarat, tunc probabiliter ne natum quidem) sanctis operibus plenus, pro Ecclesia Catholica multis sudoribus madidus, cælo & terræ gratus, inter gementes & orantes Eremitas nostros, una cum Clero Hierosolymitano, post accepta de more Sacramenta, fusis orationibus Deo, pro Terræ sanctæ liberatione e manibus infidelium, pro restituti Carmeli conservatione, & Hierosolymorum catholica fide, Virgine Maria inter splendores micante & occurrente, Angelorum cohorte stipante, feliciter inter ulnas suorum, animam Deo, suavi facie exhalavit, anno salutis MCCXIII die VIII Aprilis. Non multum in anno aberravit. Diem, quem totus Ordo in memoriam Alberti festivum haud ita pridem habere cœperat, credidit designatum eum, quo ipse ex hac Vita discesserat. In loco, quo vulneratus est, statim mortuum, nemo credere cogit: proinde vere potuerunt accidisse quæ subjungit Saracenus: nec impoßibile fuit eremitas pauculos adesse morienti, tunc forte in urbe causa supplicationis præsentes. Congrue etiam suspicabimur, si vel ad paucas horas dilata mors est, cælesti aliqua consolatione dignatum emigrasse: sed, ut hæc tamquam reipsa facta asseveremus, vel etiam in fide auctoris simpliciter referamus, uti referimus plura alia, fieri non potest, nisi testis proferatur fidei melioris quam Saracenus.*

[35] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 264-265 n. 27.

[36] This refers to Saraceni's Life of Albert.

[37] The day in question is April 8th.

[38] Put somewhat enigmatically here, the implication, taken up again in nn. 39-40, is that celebrating the feastday of St Albert of Jerusalem on April 8th was not based on

body to believe in the locality[39] in which he was wounded. Truly, therefore, those things that Saraceni tried to substitute could have taken place. Neither was it impossible for the very few hermits, then present in the city for the purpose of the public prayer, to attend to the one dying. Consistently, we will also suspect that, if the death were even delayed for a few hours, he departed having been deemed worthy of some heavenly consolation. But, in order that we might assert that this very thing, so to speak, was done, or that we would simply refer it to the trustworthiness of the author, just as we have referred many other things, [such] cannot be done unless a witness better than Saraceni is produced.

33.[40] As regards the cult in the Order, its Annalist, de Lezana, asserts that, in the manuscript calendar of its library of Traspontina, 'the feast of St Albert, Bishop' was found for 'February 7th' and he thinks that it needs to be understood as concerning the Legislator of his Order.[41] But, in the Carmelite Missals composed in the year 1509 and 1551, and in Lyons in 1556,[42] the same in the calendar of the Order edited in 1564, he says it is read as follows: April '8th, of Albert, Bishop of Jerusalem and Confessor, of the Order of Carmelites.'[43] We have read the same words before [in] the old Breviary of the Order, for which reason we have used [it] so much. The year of printing is not found in it, indeed, on account of the leaves at the end having been torn off but, from the other most

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the Patriarch having died on that day (it was, rather on September 14th that he died), but because he had been confused with another individual, Bishop Albert of Bethlehem, who died on April 8th.

[39] The locality was, in fact, Acre.

[40] [33] *Quoad cultum in Ordine, asserit illius Annalistæ Lezana, in kalendario Ms. bibliothecæ suæ Transpontinæ, reperisse pro VII Februarii, festum S. Alberti Episcopi, idque de Ordinis sui Legislatore putat intelligendum: sed in Missali Carmelitano Venetiis excuso anno MDIX & MDLI, & Lugduni MDLVI; item in kalendario Ordinis Romæ edito MDLXIV, sic legi ait: VIII Aprilis Alberti Episcopi & Confessoris Hierusalem, Ordinis Carmelit. Eadem verba nos quoque legimus ante Breviarium Ordinis antiquum, quo hactenus usi sumus. Annus quidem impressionis in eo nunc non invenitur, propter folia in fine revulsa; sed ex aliis certißimis notis demonstrari potest, impressum esse Venetiis apud Lucam Antonium de Giunta Florentinum, haud diu post MD.*

[41] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:203.

[42] Since there seems to be no record of a 1556 Missal published at Lyons, this date may be an error. Perhaps the 1559 Missal, also published at Lyons, was meant, see O.Carm., *Missale Carmelitarum* (Lyons: apud Mauritium Leroy & Ludovicum Pesnot, 1559).

[43] *Alberti ep. cf. Hierusalem ordinis Carm.* See *Missale secundum usum carmelitarum... non paucis imaginibus depictum* (Venice: Lucas Antonius de Giunta, 1509), Aprilis; *Missale Carmelitarum/Fratrum videlicet odinis beate Dei genitricis Marie de monte Carmelo, secundum usum Hierosolymitane ecclesie... Hieronymum Bilbertum Veronensem...* (Venice: Luceantonij Junte, 1551), Aprilis.

certain notes it can be demonstrated that it was printed in Venice at the house of the Florentine, Luca Antonio de Giunta, not long after 1500.[44]

34.[45] Nor, indeed, does the name of Albert appear in the Martyrological addition, of which we made mention above,[46] that was written in not a few earlier parchments and even in more ancient printed texts. Much less do I find it before the Cologne Martyrology of the Order in the manuscript Carmelite calendar that I found and which Jacob Kritzradt SJ[47] described to us, accurately distinguishing the proper Saints of the Order, of whom only three were written, and in an original hand, at first, namely 'St Cyril [of Constantinople], 6th' of March, 'St Cyril [of Alexandria], 5th' of May, 'St Elisha, 14th' of June. Over and above [these], the manuscript breviary for the year 1462 (that, about that year, de Lezana acknowledged he had in his possession) added 'St Andrew, 4th' of June, and 'St Albert, 7th' of August. But the first one who[48] ascribed the said St Andrew to the same [date],[49] did not dare to ascribe him, together with Saints Peter Thomas, Simon Stock and King Louis, to the Cologne calendar, either for that day or for any other day. Nor, in like manner, having at one time presumed permission to complete that calendar in various

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[44] See *Breviarium Carmelitarum* (Venice: Lucantonij de Giunta, 1504).

[45] [34] *In aliquanto antiquiori membrana & vetustioribus etiam typis excuso additamento Martyrologico, cujus supra meminimus, nec nomen quidem Alberti apparet: multo minus invenio illud in kalendario Carmelitico Ms. quod ante Martyrologium Ordinis reperit Coloniæ & nobis descripsit Iacobus Kritzradt S. I. accurate distinguens sanctos Ordinis proprios, quorum soli tres scripti erant prima & originaria manu, videlicet S. Cyrillus VI Martii, S. Angelus V Maji, S. Elizæus XIV Iunii. Breviarium anno MCCCCLXII Ms. (quod penes se fuisse profitetur ad istum annum Lezana) insuper addit S. Andream IV Iunii, & S. Albertum VII Augusti: sed hunc, aut ad istum aut ad alium diem ullum, adscribere kalendario Coloniensi non est ausus, qui primus eidem adscripsit prædictum S. Andream, una cum Sanctis Petro Thoma, Simone Stock & Ludovico Rege. Neque item de B. Alberto recordati fuerunt alii aliique, qui præsumpta semel licentia implendi variis locis kalendarium istud, manu multo recentiori semel iterumque Sanctos aliquos addiderunt. Non etiam recordati illius sunt, quotquot succeßive manum adhibuerunt kalendario cuidam Mechliniensi variis Sanctis augendo, multo minus quam Albertus ad Ordinem attinentibus: imo quod mireris, ejus loco notatur, VIII Aprilis Edwardi Regis & Confessoris Ordinis nostri in Anglia: qualem nulla umquam ætas vidit, saltem qui sacris fastis adscribi potuerit: cum hujus nominis Rex sanctus & Confessor obierit V Ianuarii anni MLXVI, sesqui seculo eoque amplius prius, quam Anglia Carmelitas nosset: posterorum autem Regum omnino nullus habuit famam Sanctitatis.*

[46] There seems to be no previous mention of an addition or supplement to a Carmelite martyrology, here understood as referring to a calendar of Carmelite feasts, but a supplement to the Martyrology of the Blessed Virgin Mary from the Frankfurt Carmel is mentioned in nn. 90, 95 and 96 of the text.

[47] Jacob Kritzradt SJ was an historian.

[48] This refers, presumably, to de Lezana.

[49] That is, to June 4th.

places, a much more recent hand added some Saints once and again,[50] was something or other concerning Bl. Albert recorded. No matter how many hands successively added various Saints to a certain Mechlin calendar needing to be augmented, [the things] of that one[51] are also not recorded, much less for [things] holding that Albert [belonged] to the Order. On the contrary, you might wonder that it is noted in its place '8th April, of Edward, King and Confessor, of our Order in England.' At all events, no age ever sees which one will have been able to be ascribed to the sacred calendar.[52] Since, to be sure, none of the later Kings whatever had the reputation of Sanctity, the holy King and Confessor of that name died on January 5th in the year 1066, and for that reason easily more than half a century before England could have become acquainted with the Carmelites.

35.[53] And besides we gather from these things that 'The most ancient custom of Religion' of which the Sacred Congregation of Rites made mention in the approbation of the proper offices under the pontificate of Paul V in the year 1609, and from which 'the sacred Congregation permits the proper office of the Saints to be done in this place' - that is in the already mentioned pamphlet - 'for those not having an Office', publicly declaring that, concerning these things, they 'had arranged nothing'.[54] We gather, I

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[50] In other words, on two occasions.

[51] This refers, presumably, to Albert.

[52] In other words, nobody can add to a calendar of Saints those who will only be assigned to that Calendar in the future, as is implicitly alleged to have been the case when King Edward the Confessor listed as a Carmelite Saint even before the Carmelites came to England.

[53] [35] *Atque ex his colligimus, antiquissimam Religionis consuetudinem, cujus meminit Sacra Rituum Congregatio in approbatione propriorum officiorum sub Pontificatu Pauli V anno MDCIX; & ex qua eadem sacra Congregatio permittit fieri officium de Sanctis, proprium hic, id est in libello jam dicto, Officium non habentibus, protestans se de iis nihil ordinasse; colligimus, inquam, ex antedictis, talem consuetudinem non esse antiquiorem seculo præcedente, cujus initio Patres Carmelitæ (quibus jam persuasum erat, & Carmelitam fuisse Albertum, & de habita ejus sepulcro veneratione aliqua per obscuram traditionem quidpiam innotuerat) statuerunt, eum ab Ordine universo colendum. Suffecit autem Saraceno permißio talis, ut Vitam a se consarcinatam sic concluderet; Hujus sancti viri officium, in universo Ordine nostro, sub Duplici minori expresse dedit Paulus V. Quod more suo, ut alia in aliis multa, alterans Saussayus in Martyrologio Gallicano, post longum elogium a Saraceno acceptum, finit, asserens, quod Albertum sacris honoribus coli in Carmelitano Ordine Paulus V Papa mandavit, Quid autem opus erat indulto vel etiam mandato Pauli V, si jam ante centum annos in antiquo Carmelitarum Breviario, jussu Pii III, de Sancto hoc habetur Officium duplex, ut scribit confidenter Alegræus, æque ac Saracenus infelix auctor in tradenda veritate?*

[54] On the document quoted here by Papenbroeck, see Juan Bautista de Lezana O.Carm., *Summa quaestionum regularium seu de casibus conscientiae ad regulares utriusque sexus valde spectantibus*, 5 vols. (Rome: Andreaa Phaei, 1655-1666), 1/2:44 (64-65);

say, from what has been said before, that such a custom, whose beginning, - him needing to be honoured by the entire Order, the Carmelite Fathers (by whom it was already persuaded that Albert had both been a Carmelite and had been noted by means of some obscure tradition concerning its habit for a certain veneration in the tomb) established - was not more ancient than the preceding century. Such permission was sufficient, however, for Saraceni that he might conclude the Life thus patched together by him:

> Paul V expressly gave [us] the office of that holy man, [to be celebrated] under a double minor [rite] within our whole Order.[55]

Which, in his manner, as altering many things into other things, du Saussay [has] in the Gallican Martyrology, after a long clause approved by Saraceni comes to an end, asserting that 'Pope Paul V ordered' Albert 'to be cherished with sacred honours in the Carmelite Order.'[56] What need, however, is there of the indult or even the mandate of Paul V if,[57] already, a hundred years before in the ancient Carmelite Breviary,[58] 'a double office concerning this Saint, ordered by Pius III, was kept',[59] as Alegre, an unfortunate author equal to Saraceni in handing on the truth, confidently writes?

> 36.[60] Further, under Paul [V],[61]

Victor Palmé, "Decreta authentica Congregationis Sacramum Rituum," *Analecta Juris Pontifici* 67, Juillet et Aout (1863), 1-384: 95-96 (n. 322).

[55] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 265 n. 27.

[56] See André du Saussay, *Martyrologium Gallicanum, in quo sanctorum, beatorumque ac piorum plusquam octoginta millium... in Gallia illustrium certi natales indicantur, etc.*, 2 vols. (Paris: Sumptibus Stephani Richer, 1637), 1104.

[57] This 'if' seems to have been intended to cast doubt on what follows.

[58] This refers, probably, to the 1504 Carmelite Breviary.

[59] See Alegre de Casanate, *Paradisus Carmelitici decoris*, 259.

[60] [36] *Porro Officia propria sub Paulo, de mandato sacræ Congregationis recognita, & a Cardinale Bellarmino subscripta, fuerunt quidem approbata subscribente Dominico Cardinale Pinello; sed in iis non erant (ut hoc quoque obiter attingam) de B. Petro Thoma propriæ lectiones, haud levi correctione egentes: quod tamen præsumunt ii, qui nobis, Martyrium ejusdem nullum nisi metaphoricum agnoscentibus, opponendam putant auctoritatem Bellarmini. Compositæ namque eæ demum sunt sub Vrbano VIII; & absque speciali ulla approbatione, per Indulgentiam Cardinalis de Torres, anno MDCXXVIII adjunctæ veteribus. In ista autem nova editione, quia permißionem omnium generalem non restrinxit Congregatio ad Officia propria, potest quadamtenus censeri eadem Congregatio approbasse, antiquum B. Alberti cultum, de quo prior Congregatio sub Paulo V nihil ordinaverat, permittens fieri ex consuetudine, donec scilicet & quousque distinctius de iis cognosceretur.*

[61] This refers to Pope Paul V.

> The proper Offices recognised through the mandate of the sacred Congregation, and signed by Cardinal Bellarmine, were indeed approved by the undersigned Dominic Cardinal Pinelli.[62]

But (as, on the way, I would touch on this thing also), the proper readings concerning Bl. Peter Thomas, requiring a by no means light correction, were not among these things. What, nevertheless, these things that are [important] for us presume is [that], by their acknowledging no Martyrdom of the same except a metaphorical one, they regard the authority of Bellarmine as something needing to be opposed.[63] For indeed, having only been composed under Urban VIII, and without any special approbation, those things were annexed to the older ones by means of the Indulgence of Cardinal de Torres in the year 1628.[64] In that new edition, however, because the Congregation did not restrict the general permission of all concerning 'the proper Offices', it is possible that the same Congregation was being assessed as having approved [them] to a certain extent, the ancient cult of Bl. Albert, concerning which the former Congregation under Paul V 'had arranged nothing', allowing it to be done 'from the custom', and up until that point, of course, in which something clearer concerning them will become known.

37.[65] This was not done until the year 1672, when 'Clement X conceded to Matteo Orlandi, the [Prior] General' just as the sacred Congre-

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[62] See Palmé, "Decreta authentica Congregationis Sacramum Rituum," 95-96 (n. 322).

[63] In 1614, the Congregation of Rites recognised Bl Peter Thomas O.Carm. as a martyr, see ibid., 133-134 n. 430.

[64] See ibid., 203-204 n. 835.

[65] [37] *Factum id demum anno MDCLXXII, quando Clemens X Mattheo Orlando Generali concessit, prout testata est die V Aprilis sacra Rituum Congregatio, ut ad formam Brevis alias, sub Clemente VIII, anno MDCII expediti, Breviarium Ordinis per ipsum accurate examinetur, & si quæ depravata aut omissa, præsertim circa festa Sanctorum dicti Ordinis esse animadverterit, emendare & restituere procuret; apponendo præsertim Officia nova, a sancta Sede Apostolica approbata; utque sic emendatum & restitutum in universo Ordine divulgari & usu recipi possit. Igitur ex vi hujus indulti prodiit typis Antverpiensibus novum Ordinis Breviarium; atque inter officia nova, a Clemente X concessa, invenitur pro festo S. Alberti Duplex minus, cum Oratione & Lectionibus propriis. Oratio hæc est Tuæ benedictionis plenitudo super nos quæsumus, Domine, copiosa descendat; & jugiter S. Alberti Confessoris tui atque Pontificis placare suffragiis: Lectiones IV & V acceptæ sunt quoad sensum ex solo Ms. Vercellensi. VI an & quatenus emendanda sit altiori judicio definiendum relinquimus. Interim facile descernet Lector, utri judicandi sint solidius ad indagandam veritatem progreßi; iine qui suis occupati præjudiciis, Saraceno credidere quidquid nondum erat manifestæ falsitatis convictum, idque huic inseruere Lectioni; an nos, qui abrogata Saraceno fide, non nisi ex antiquiorum & fideliorum scriptorum testimoniis hujus historiæ seriem petendam existimamus.*

gation of Rites has attested on the 5th day of April, 'as, at another time, according to the form of the Brief' under Clement VIII,

> released in the year 1602, the Breviary of the Order is accurately examined by means of the same and, if he will have noticed things that are distorted or omitted, especially concerning the feasts of the Saints of the said Order, he will seek to emend and restore [them], especially by adding new Offices approved by the holy Apostolic See, and so that thus having been emended and restored it can be published and received for us in the whole Order.[66]

Therefore, from the power of this indult, the new Breviary of the Order came forth from the Antwerp printers[67] and also among 'the new offices conceded by Clement X' is found 'a double minor for the feast of St Albert' with a Prayer and proper Readings.[68] This prayer is:

> We beseech the fullness of your blessing upon us, O Lord; may it descend abundantly and continuously to reconcile [us] by the prayers of St Albert, your Confessor and Bishop.

The fourth and fifth readings are according to the sense from the Vercelli manuscript alone. Whether and to what extent the sixth[69] needs to be corrected we leave as needing to be defined by a higher judgment. In the meantime, the Reader might easily discern which of those that

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[66] See Victor Palmé, "Decreta authentica Congregationis Sacramum Rituum (1)," *Analecta Juris Pontifici* 66, Janvier et Février (1865), 1137-1388: 1175 (n. 1941).

[67] O.Carm., *Breviarium Carmelitanum iuxta Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae antiquam consuetudinem... a... Matthaeo Orlando... revisum correctum... et ab eminentac reverendi dd. Domino Cardinali Bona authoritate apostolica recognitum et approbatum...* 2 vols. (Antwerp: typis Marcelli Parys, 1672). See Francesco Pianzola, "S. Alberto Avogadro, dell' Ordine Mortariense, legislatore dei Carmelitani," *Il Monte Carmelo* 23 (1937) 196-198, 225-228; 24 (1938) 24-28, 48-51, 89-91, 147-153, 183-191, 219-227; 25 (1939) 25-30, 47-49: 223; *Sant' Alberto Avogadro, dell' Ordine Mortariense: Un parroco santo di Santa Croce in Mortara, Vescovo e Patriarca* (Mortara: Tip. La Commerciale di E. Guallini, 1937), 59. An English translation of these prayers and readings can be found in OCD, ed. *Proper Offices of the Saints granted to the Barefooted Carmelites* (Boston: Printed by John Cashman & Co., 1896), 90-92.

[68] See Dionisio Blasco O.Carm., *Cursus philosophicus iuxta gravissimam et reconditam Ioannis Bacconii, Doctor Resoluti... Pars prima* (Zaragoza: Apud Ioannem de Ybar, 1672), pars hyemalis, 683, and officia nova, ccxxi; O.Carm., *Supplementum breviarii ordinis fratrum beatiss. virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo... directum et ex comisione... Clementis papae X revisum et correctum ab eminentissimo D. Cardinali Bona a...* (Venice: Cieras, 1672), 29.

[69] The sixth reading describes Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem as drawing up his 'rule' for the Carmelites 'from the works of Saint Basil, and from those of Saint John, the forty-fourth Bishop of Jerusalem', as organising the building of other Carmelite monasteries and as having himself become a Carmelite.

have come forth needs to be judged the more solid for the truth needing to be investigated. Whether those who are engrossed with their prejudices would have confidence in whatever in Saraceni was not yet manifestly convicted of falsehood, and introduce this Reading in that thing; whether we who have annulled [our] faith in Saraceni would consider the sequence of this history something needing to be sought out? Not unless from the testimonies of older and more faithful writers!

38.[70] In the pamphlet concerning *The Praise of the Sacred Order of Canons*, printed in Brixen in the year 1536,[71] John di Nigravalle, the

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[70] [38] *Ioannes de Nigravalle, Apostolicus Bibliothecarius, in libello de laude sacri Canonici Ordinis excuso Brixiæ anno MDXXXVI, inter dicti Ordinis Sanctos recenset Albertum Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum. Idem facit, Ioanne citato, Constantinus Ghinius, in Appendice ad Natales Sanctorum Canonicorum, eos recensens quorum diem natalem & acta ignoravit. Neque hactenus ullus Alberto cultus inter Canonicos Regulares defertur, uti adhuc nuperrime quærentibus nobis responderi curavit totius Ordinis Canonici in Romana Curia Procurator generalis. Nihilominus Carmelitæ quidam, bis Antverptam miserunt Orationem & Lectiones II Nocturni, pro Officio S. Alberti Patriarchæ Hierosolymitani die VIII Aprilis, depromptas ex Officiis Sanctorum Ordinis Canonicorum Regularium S. Joannis Lateranensis, & ad Ordinem Carmelitarum extensas a sacra Congregatione Rituum die XVIII Junii MDCLXXI. Lectiones, quia ex Saraceno desumptæ, non indigent alia reprobatione. Mirandum est autem, etiam nunc dubitasse auctorem, an Albertus fuerit Episcopus Vercellensis, caute addens, ut dicitur: sive (ut in secundo Ecgrapho legi) ut traditur: majori jure cautionem aliquam adhibuisset, cum finivit his verbis, claruit sub Honorio VI Imperatore, sive (ut rursum mutavit ecgraphi secundi scriptor) sub Henrico VI Imperatore, ubi Fredericum II scripserat Saracenus. Honorium VI nullum norunt Historiæ; Fredericus II annis post Alberti obitum sex pervenit ad Imperium; Henricus hujus nominis VI, non Imperator sed Rex Germaniæ, sex annis prius obiit quam Albertus in Patriarcham eligeretur: qui vero in Ordine Imperatorum nominatur sextus Henricus Lucemburgensis Comes, anno MCCCVIII electus Rex, anno dumtaxat MCCCXII coronam Imperii non tam obtinuit quam extorsit. Quisquis igitur lectionum istarum sacræ Congregationi offerendarum auctor fuit, hunc oportet eas somniantem scripsisse: certe non nisi somnians vidisse potuit Canonicorum Officia propria, in quibus ipsas legerit. Conceßit Canonicis illis Pius V anno MDLXX, præter communes omnibus Romano Breviario utentibus, proprias quasdam festivitates, quæ in diplomate Apostolico nominatim exprimuntur singulæ, cum facultate iisdem accommodandi proprias Orationes & Lectiones: sed nulla uspiam Alberti mentio. Iuxta hoc privilegium excusus mox est propriorum officiorum libellus, idemque etiam auctior sub nova sacræ Congregationis approbatione prodiit Romæ MDCXIII, Venetiis MDCXLIII, Montibus MDCXLV, quas editiones omnes & singulas habemus, ut nihil dicam de Breviario anni MDVIII vel Ordinario anni MDXXI: sed abest a cunctis Alberti nomen. Nunc autem sæpius interrogati pergunt negare Canonici Regulares quidquam se nosse de Officio S. Alberti; proinde non modo fidem nullam, sed pœnam gravissimam commeruit, qui talia obtulit sacræ Congregationi, tamquam a Canonicis Lateranensibus ex indulto Pontificio recitari solita: & merito Carmeliticus Ordo ipse, istis Lectionibus repudiatis (de quibus nescio an credere debeam receptas unquam fuisse) novas substituit in Breviarii sui editione anni MDCLXXII. Meretur interim S. Albertus ut ejus cultum etiam Canonici Regulares suscipiant cum Officio, quod totum melius ex Vercellensium monumentis sumetur, quam aliquid addatur ex Saraceno, vel ex supposititio Officio jam indicato.*

[71] See Giovanni di Nigravalle, *Joannes de Nigravalle, apostolicus bibliothecarius, in*

Apostolic Librarian, numbered Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem among the Saints of the said Order.[72] From the cited John, Constantino Ghinio did the same in the Appendix to the Births of the Saints of the Canons,[73] enumerating those whose birth day and deeds he did not know. Nor, as the Procurator General in the Roman Curia of the whole Order of Canons has hitherto been at pains to have us who were raising the question responded to, has any cult of Albert among the Canons Regular been reported up to this point. Nevertheless, on two occasions, certain Carmelites sent [the following] from Antwerp:

> The Prayer and Readings of the Second Nocturne for the Office of St Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, on the 8th day of April, from the Offices of the Saints of the Order of the Canons Regular of St John Lateran, and extended to the Order of Carmelites by the sacred Congregation of Rites on the 18th day of June 1671.[74]

Because they were derived from Saraceni, the readings do not need another reprobation. It is strange, however, that even now the author[75] doubted whether Albert had been the Bishop of Vercelli, cautiously adding 'as it is said' or (as is read in the second account) 'as is handed down.' With a greater right, some caution had been added, since it ends in these words 'He was famous under the Emperor Honorius VI' or (as, again, the writer changes it in the second account), 'Frederick II', where Saraceni had written 'under the Emperor Henry VI'.[76] The Historians know no 'Honorius VI'.[77] Frederick II came to imperial power six years after the death of Albert. The 'Henry' who is named the sixth, who was not an 'Emperor' but the 'King of Germany', died six years before Albert was elected as Patriarch.[78] The Henry who in the order of Emperors is

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laudem sacri canonici ordinis et de ipsius ortu et monachorum (Brixie : per Damianum & Iac. Philip. fratres, 1536).

[72] In other words, of the Canons Regular.

[73] See Costantino Ghinio, *Constantini Ghinii Sanctorum canonicorum natales* (Venice: Apud Sanctum Grillum, et socios, 1621), 107.

[74] For the background to the document bearing this title, see de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Speculum Carmelitanum, sive historia Eliani ordinis fratrum beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, 1/2:867-873.

[75] This refers to the author of the text cited above, 'The Prayer and Readings of the Second Nocturne for the Office of St Albert ...'

[76] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 265 n. 28.

[77] None of the holy Roman emperors was called Honorius. Flavius Honorius Augustus was Western Roman emperor from 395 to 423 and Saraceni may have been confused by the fact that it was Pope Honorius III who crowned Frederick II as holy Roman emperor in 1220.

[78] Although denied by Papenbroeck, the Henry who was the sixth Henry to be king of Germany (from 1169-1197) and the fifth Henry to be king of the Romans/Italy (also from

named the sixth[79] is the Count of Luxemburg, elected King in the year 1308,[80] he not only acquired, but took the crown of the Empire by force in the year 1312. Whoever, therefore, was the author of those readings offered to the sacred Congregation, that one must have written them while sleeping. Certainly, not unless sleeping will he have read the same readings in which he could have seen the proper Offices of the Canons.[81] In the year 1570, beyond the commons in the Roman Breviary that everybody used, Pius V conceded to those Canons certain proper festivities that were described individually by name in the Apostolic diploma, together with the power of accommodating proper Prayers and Readings to the same festivities but without any mention of Albert anywhere.[82] In keeping with this privilege, a pamphlet of the proper offices was soon printed[83] and, under the increased approbation of the sacred Congregation, the same also came forth in Rome in 1613, in Venice in 1643, in Lima in 1645,[84] each and all of which editions we have, so that I will say nothing concerning the Breviary of the year 1508 or the Ordinary of the year 1521, but the name of Albert is absent from all of them. Now, however, having been asked repeatedly, the Canons Regular continue to deny that they know anything concerning the Office of St Albert. Accordingly, the one who brought such things to the sacred Congregation is guilty not only of being deemed as having no credibility, but of the most grave punishment, just as it is commonly recited by the Canons of the Lateran from the Pontifical indult. And, having rightly repudiated those Readings (concerning which I do not know whether I ought to believe that it

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1169-1197) was crowned as Emperor Henry VI by Pope Celestine III on Easter Monday, 1191.

[79] Recognising the Henry who was Holy Roman Emperor from 1191-97 as the sixth Holy Roman emperor of that name, modern historians generally list the Emperor from 1312-13 who had been Count Henry VII of Luxemburg as the seventh, rather than the sixth.

[80] Although elected in November 1308, Count Henry VII of Luxemburg was not crowned as King of the Romans until January 1309.

[81] In other words, the alleged readings for the feast of St Albert of Jerusalem are not, in fact, found in the text of proper Offices.

[82] The text is the Apostolic Diploma is given at the beginning of their proper Offices for 1735, see Canon Regular Lateranensis, ed. *Officia propria sanctorum ex speciali S. D. N. Pii papae V. concessione Canonicis regularibus Lateranensibus recitanda* (Munich: Typis et impensis Joannis Jacobi Vötter, 1735).

[83] See *Officia Canonicorum regularium Lateranensium s. Augustini. Secundum regulas Breuiarij Romani: ex decreto sacrosancti concilij Tridentini sub Pio quinto pont. max. restituti. Ab eodem S.D.N. Pio quinto pont. max. eisdem Canon. Regul. Lateranensibus concessa & confirmata* (Venice: apud Juntas, 1586).

[84] See *Officia propria sanctorum canonicorum regularium Lateranentium* (Rome, 1613); *Officia propria sanctorum canonicorum regularium Lateranentium* (Venice, 1643); *Officia propria sanctorum canonicorum regularium Lateranentium* (Lima, 1645).

ever received them), the Carmelite Order itself substituted new ones in the edition of its Breviary of the year 1672.[85] In the meantime, St Albert deserves that the Canons Regular also take up his cult together with the Office, that the entire cult is best taken from the documents of Vercelli than that anything is added from Saraceni, or from the substituted Office already indicated.[86]

39.[87] In a similar way, there is no cult of Albert among the people of Vercelli, and, outside the Convent of the Carmelites, indeed, neither is the name noted as 'Blessed' (unless, perhaps, very recently). For, on page 241 of his most often praised little book, Bishop Ferrero constructs a Catalogue of the Saints and Blesseds who were either citizens or Bishops of Vercelli and, within these, he also numbers two Martyrs, nineteen Confessors, ten male and female Blesseds, among whom some flourished in the preceding century, but he does not remember Albert or, concerning the one mentioned who was pursuing a course of action in history, attribute the title of Blessed to the same.[88] In the meantime, Filippo Ferrari, concluding the *Catalogue of Italian Saints* that was to be printed, noted that, omitted in the text, Albert was in the Index with the title of 'Martyr'.[89] And, afterwards, the *General Catalogue of Those Who Are Not Included in the Roman Martyrology* inserted these words for the same one

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[85] See O.Carm., *Breviary 1672*, pars hyemalis, 683 & officia nova, ccxxi; *Breviary Supplement 1672*, 29.

[86] This refers to the text cited above, 'The Prayer and Readings of the Second Nocturne for the Office of St Albert ...'

[87] [39] *Simili modo nullus est apud Vercellenses cultus Alberti, ac ne quidem nomen (nisi forsitan admodum recenter) notum ut Beati, extra Conventum Carmelitanum: Nam Ferrerius Episcopus, pag. 241 laudati sæpius libelli sui, Catalogum texit Sanctorum aut Beatorum, qui vel cives fuere vel Episcopi Vercellenses; atque in his numerat Martyres duos, Confessores novemdecim, Beatos ac Beatas decem, inter quos nonnulli floruerunt seculo præcedenti: sed Alberti non meminit, aut de eo agens in historia, titulum Beati ipsi tribuit. Interim Philippus Ferrarius, Catalogum Sanctorum Italiæ imprimendo absolvens, in textu omissum, notavit in Indice cum titulo Martyris; & postea Catalogum Generalem eorum qui non sunt in Romano Martyrologio contexens, ad eumdem XIV Septembris hæc verba inseruit, Ptolemaide in Palæstina S. Alberti Episcopi & Martyris. In notis citat tabulas Episcoporum Vercellensium: quod ita intelligendum, ut ex iis aliquam mortis ab eo obitæ hauserit notitiam, sed admodum confusam, per quam scripserit occubuisse percussum, cum esset Ptolemaide sacris indutus ut celebraret; titulum vero & cultum Sancti, Vercellis non didicerit, sed, ut aliis pluribus, adjecerit pro suo arbitratu.*

[88] See Ferrerius (Ferrero), *Sancti Eusebii Vercellensis*, 241-242. See also Vercellensis, *Officia Sanctorum, quorum memoria peculiari cultu a sancta Vercellen. Ecclesia celebrari consuevit... Diligenter recognita, & in lucem edita.* (Novara: Typis J. B. Cavalli, 1736).

[89] See Filippo Ferrari OSM, *Catalogus sanctorum Italiae in Menses duodecim distributus* (Milan: Apud Hieronymium Bordonium, 1613), index.

on the 14th September:[90] Acre in Palestine, St Albert, Bishop and Martyr.[91] In the notes he cites the tables of the Bishops of Vercelli. What is thus to be understood is that, there, a certain notice, but somewhat confused, of the death that he died will have been derived from them by means of which it had been written that, having been struck, he was laid to rest 'in Acre, having been dressed in the vestments so that he might celebrate'.[92] The title and cult of the Saint will not have been forgotten in Vercelli, indeed, but, as with many others, it will have directed the mind of people on account of its judgment.

40.[93] Not knowing fully beforehand what future things might be acceptable, what things the disclosed truth was going to supply on this subject, we would also have been able either to have drawn the whole thing together in a few [words], inserting no mention of the Carmelites, or to defer this tract to the month of September,[94] with the not unreasonable hope that at some time the sincerity of our writing was going to flow into the more peaceful souls needing to be instructed by a proper study of the more certain things. But it became clear that it was neither going

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[90] This was the date of Albert's death and, therefore, the likely date of his feastday.

[91] See Filippo Ferrari OSM, *Catalogus generalis sanctorum, qui in Martyrologio Rom. non sunt, ex variis martyrologiis, kalendariis, tabulis, monumentisque ecclesiarum...* (Venice: Apud Io. Guerilium, 1625), 365.

[92] See ibid., 366.

[93] [40] *Nos quoque, præscientes non admodum grata futura, quæ comperta veritas in hoc argumento suggerebat; potuissemus aut rem totam perstringere paucis, nulla Carmelitarum mentione injecta; aut usque in mensem Septembrem differre hanc tractationem, cum spe non injusta, quod in animis, proprio quandoque studio certiora edocendis, placidius esset illapsura nostræ scriptionis sinceritas. Sed neque diutius licuit esse tam brevibus, postquam cœperunt aliqui brevitatem illam interpretari affectum religiosis viris prorsus indignum; neque fas fuit in aliud tempus differre, quem totus Ordo colit hodie Officio solenni, quandoquidem necdum forte sopitæ sunt querelæ succensentium, quod in prætermißis ad XXVIII Februarii dixerimus: B. Angela de Bohemia, Ordinis Carmelitarum, quibusdam kalendariis hoc die inscripta traditur. In ejus Vita, quam Ms. nacti sumus non tenui examine egentem, dicitur obiisse VI Julii. Idem quoad diem de omnibus vitæ exemplaribus testabatur Lezana ad an. 1253 num. 18, contra quem consensum non debebat nos commovere auctoritas unius Mechliniensis kalendarii, admodum temere consarcinati: præsertim cum Angela ista nullum vel in Ordine vel in Bohemia habeat cultum, & multa sint in Vita partim evidenter falsa, partim dubia; ac ne hoc quidem probari sentiant viri in Bohemicis rebus tractandis & scribendis versatißimi, quod ipsa aliquando inter homines fuerit numerata. Erant igitur causæ incomparabiliter majores, quæ ipsam, quam quæ Albertum differendum suaderent; & tamen non suffecerunt præoccupatis dolentium animis; ideoque timemus ne irritentur multo gravius, si Albertum ab eo die quem statuit Ordo, rejiciamus in alium, nullo ejus cultu, sed sola morte memorabilem.*

[94] This refers to volumes 43-50 of the *Acta Sanctorum* for September, published between 1748 and 1762.

to be the longer [time] nor the few [words] when some began to interpret that shortness as utterly unworthy of the disposition of mind of religious men, nor was it right to defer for another time he whom the whole Order honours today[95] by a solemn Office, since, indeed, the quarrels that what we will have said in the things transmitted for February 28th kindled have, perhaps, not yet been settled.

> Bl. Angela from Bohemia, of the Order of Carmel, inscribed on this day is handed down in some calendars. In her Life, which manuscript, needing more than a superficial examination, we have obtained, she is said to have died on July 6th.[96]

As concerns the day, for the year 1263, number 19, de Lezana appeals to the same concerning all the exemplars of the life, against which consensus the authority of one Mechlin calendar should not cause us to set something in motion, to fear that that consensus has been patched together totally. Especially since that Angela has no cult either in the Order or in Bohemia and many things in the Life are, in part, evidently false, in part, dubious and, lest this thing be proved, indeed, that the most versatile men dealing and writing in Bohemian affairs believe that the same woman had at some time been numbered among the people.[97] They were, therefore, incomparably greater causes that that cause which might persuade one that Albert needed to be deferred and, nevertheless, they were not sufficient for the preoccupied souls of the suffering and, for that reason, we fear that it might irritate much more gravely if, there being no other cult of him but being worthy of remembrance only by the death, we set Albert aside to another day from that which the Order established.[98]

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[95] Papenbroeck's dossier marked St Albert's feastday on April 8th.

[96] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 5 (Feb III):718.

[97] See ibid., 28 (Jul II):350-359.

[98] Rather than deferring the dossier on Albert to the *Acta Sanctorum* for September 14th, the day he was killed, the Bollandists decided to deal with Albert in the *Acta Sanctorum* for April 8th, the day on which he was honoured by the Carmelites.

Chapter 5

The Rule Prescribed by Albert for Certain Hermits on Carmel.[1]

> The writers of the 13th and 14th centuries are silent concerning this thing:[2] it was, then, something modest, so to say, and private;[3] which, nevertheless, should be something said without prejudice to the Elijan succession, which we do not wish to attack,[4] and we wish that it was possible to prove it. In the Rule are prescribed: the election of the Prior; the location of the cells and their use, the consideration of the daily prayer; the oratory needing to be built; the weekly consultation, fasting almost daily, abstinence from meats; spiritual arms, fleeing idleness and continuous occupation, religious silence. To the Prior, humility is commended, to the Brothers, respect.[5]

41.[6] Among the Latin writers of Greek affairs no mention is found of Berthold and of the Carmelite Institute, begun or (as that Order prefers to

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[1] *CAPUT V. Regula ab Alberto quibusdam in Carmelo Eremitis præscripta.*

[2] From the chapter title, this refers to what Papenbroeck consistently calls the [Albertine] Rule, which might more correctly be described as Albert's Formula of Life.

[3] The word *privatat*, rather than *privata*, in the original is presumed to be a typographical error.

[4] Despite this assertion, the dossier does, indeed, present the evidence that undermines the Elijan succession and draw the conclusion that it cannot be proven, as the final phrase of this sentence explicitly states.

[5] *Scriptores seculi 13 & 14 de hac re tacent, tamquam modica tunc & privatat (sic. privata?); quod tamen dictum sit absque præjudicio Elianæ successionis, quam nolumus impugnare, & vellemus posse probare. In Regula præscribantur, Prioris electio: situs cellularum, & earum usus, orationis quotidianæ pensum: Oratorium construendum: consultatio hebdomadaria, jejunium fere quotidianum, abstinentia a carnibus: arma spiritualia, fuga otii, & continua occupatio, religiosum silentium. Commendatur Priori humilitas, Fratribus observantia.*

[6] [41] *Apud Orientalium rerum scriptores Latinos nulla invenitur mentio Bertholdi & Carmelitici instituti, sub ejus ductu cœpti aut (uti loqui Ordo iste mavult) reformati: nulla etiam Regulæ, ejusdem instituti Professoribus ab Alberto præscriptæ; ne quidem in Synopsi Vitæ apud Vercellenses servata. Nempe ea fere sola curant historici mandare litteris, quæ*

say) reformed under his[7] conducting. There is also no mention of the Rule of the same institute prescribed by Albert for those who profess it nor, indeed, is it preserved in the synopsis of the Lives[8] at Vercelli. For the most part, certainly, since historians take care to send in letters those things that were being done when they were receiving the public approbation or censure of the people, they were causing those things to be poured into the ear of the people by means of whom the same things were being brought about.[9] Beyond the private and, as it were, domestic cares of the Patriarch, therefore, the gathering of a few hermits and a certain established formula of living having been unfolded for the same by a short instruction was not seen then to stand out for anyone and, for that reason, it was not something needing to be committed to writing. Certainly, it was done in the same way with the Rule of St Augustine that has now been spread in the whole world by the coming together of so many men and women Religious. And indeed neither Possidius, who wrote the Life[10] of his master, nor the holy Doctor himself,[11] from whose writings the greatest part of the things done by him are made known to us, have made mention somewhere of the care expended for holy nuns by means of the writing of a Rule, and the Rule itself is never numbered among the writings of Augustine. Although it was, in itself, a most exceedingly worthy writing, of those things, so to speak, that

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tunc cum gerebantur publica populorum excipiens approbatio vituperatiove, faciebant in ore hominum versari eos, per quos ipsa fiebant. Pauculorum igitur eremitarum adunatio, & certa quædam vivendi formula brevi instructione iisdem explicata, ultra privatas ac veluti domesticas Patriarchæ curas eminere nemini tunc visa est, ideoque nec scripto commendanda. Eodem prorsus modo atque actum est cum S. Augustini Regula, nunc toto orbe per tot Religiosorum virorum ac feminarum cœtus diffusa. Etenim neque Poßidius, qui Vitam magistri sui scripsit, neque ipse sanctus Doctor, ex cujus scriptis plurima pars rerum ab eo gestarum nobis innotescit, uspiam mentionem fecere curæ impensæ Sanctimonialibus per Regulæ scriptionem, & ipsa Regula nusquam inter Augustini scriptæ numeratur: licet Poßidius post Vitam Catalogum texuerit omnium quorum potuit notitiam consequi, etiam singularium epistolarum; adeo ut videatur plane ex temporanea, quamvis in se dignißima, fuisse scriptio; cujus, tamquam alium deinceps usum non habituræ, exemplar servare sanctus Doctor neglexerit: & tamen ex illis aliquando producta angustiis, quantam approbationem non retulit? Valuit profecto in eremiticis quotquot nunc florent Ordinibus, si valuit uspiam, & nominatim in Carmelitano, quod dixit Salvator, Simile est regnum cælorum grano sinapis, quod accipiens homo seminavit in agro suo, & minimum quidem est omnibus seminibus, cum autem creverit majus est omnibus oleribus, & fit arbor.

[7] From the context, this refers to Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem.

[8] This refers, presumably, to the account of the lives of the Bishops of Vercelli.

[9] In other words, since historians tend to report only those things that are likely to win the approval or censure of those for whom they write, they tend to focus on things that are in some way the consequence of, or the response to, the actions of those for whom they write.

[10] See Herbert T. Weiskotten, "Sancti Augustini Vita Sacripta a Possidio Episcopo" (Princeton: University Press, 1919).

[11] The holy Doctor is St Augustine of Hippo.

would not have another usage following after, the holy Doctor will have neglected to preserve the exemplar. Cannot what approbation it[12] did bear, nevertheless, be clearly seen, moreover, from the opportune things as, after the Life, Possidius drew up a Catalogue[13] of all those writings of which a notice could be found, even of the individual letters, and, some things having been produced at some time or other from those things that were not far diffused?[14] If what was strong in some place, what was, indeed, strong in whatever number of deserts[15] there then were, now flourishes in the Orders, and specifically in the Carmelite Order, it is what the Saviour said, 'The kingdom of the heavens is similar to a mustard grain that, receiving, a man sowed in his field, and it is indeed the smallest of all the seeds, when, however, it will have grown it is the largest of all the shrubs and becomes a tree' (Mt 13:31-32).

42.[16] Since, however, I call the seed small, I am conscious of it[17] having been cast by heaven – almost alone – in the solitude of Carmel

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[12] This refers, presumably, to the Rule of St Augustine.

[13] See Possidius, *Indiculus Librorum, Tractatuum et Epostolarum S. Augustini*, in Migne, *PL*, 46:5-22.

[14] Despite its later importance, the Rule of St Augustine was not considered sufficiently important to include in this Catalogue.

[15] Here, *eremiticis* seems to be a plural noun in the ablative case.

[16] [42] *Cum autem dico semen exiguum, in Carmeli solitudine silvarumque condensis, cælo propemodum solo conscio jactum; & usque dum Regula tenero germini congrua adjungeretur, lentis auctum progreßibus, soli autem nativi malignitate victa in ramosam denique excrevisse arborem: hæc cum dico, nolo sic accipi, quasi intendam negare, ipsum illud exiguum semen decisum fuisse ex vasta aliqua & annosa arbore, quæ (sicut habet Ordinis Carmelitici qualiscumque traditio) ab Elia quondam plantata fuerit; & legi gratiæ per Apostolos inserta feliciusque revirescens, Orientem implerit monachis; quorum successores ac posteri Elianum institutum propagarint, donec inutiles rami ab Ecclesiæ agro una cum suo trunco per schisma excisi, nominis tanti jus amisere; quod tamen conservatum sit in semine, in illis, inquam, pauculis sub Bertholdo eremitis, qui licet lingua, ritu, fide, moribusque diversi ab iis in quorum locum succeßisse præsumuntur, possunt tamen dici etiam ipsi Eliani instituti propago. Patitur quidem traditio ista de Elia deque Elianis, primum usque ad Christum, secundo a Christo usque ad Bertholdum, contradictiones non leves virorum eruditorum, requirentium pro re tanta totque seculis, ut prætenditur, credita, probationem solidiorem, quam sit nuda traditio, eorum præsertim quorum assertiones in rebus aliis, non tam longe ab ætate nostra recedentibus quam recedunt Eliæ & Christi tempora, in seculo inquam XII ac XIII, multipliciter inter se variant, & frequentibus evidentißimisque erroribus deprehenduntur obnoxiæ. Nos tamen istis contradictionibus non permovemur, ut in eo argumento, ubi major de nomine quam de re videtur esse disceptatio, permittamus immisceri nomen nostrum. Neque volumus improbare, nedum obstare, quo minus Carmeliticus Ordo eos omnes Sanctos habeat pro suis, qui in Palæstina vel Syria eremiticam aut monasticam profeßionem suarum virtutum splendore illustrarunt. Tantum petimus vicißim gratiam unam, ut patienter ferant nos abstinere ab Ordinis sui titulo iisdem Sanctis adscribendo, donec certius nobis constiterit de talis tituli veritate.*

[17] This refers, clearly, to the seed.

and in the thickly covered places of the forests and, while a suitable Rule was constantly joined to the tender sprout, having grown by slow progressions, and then, however, when it had grown into a tree having many branches, it was conquered by native malice alone. When I say these things, I do not want them to be accepted in such a manner - I will go as far, almost, to deny[18] - that that small seed had itself been cut off from some immense and aged tree that (just as a tradition of the Carmelite Order of whatever kind holds) had once been planted by Elijah and that, inserted in the law of grace by means of the Apostles, is read as reviving and being more fertile. In the East it was filled by monks, whose successors and descendants propagated the Elijan institute, until the useless branches together with its trunk having been cut off from the field of the Church by schism, the right to such a name was lost. Which right, nevertheless, would have been conserved in the seed, in those few hermits under Berthold, I say, who, although diverse in language, rite, faith and customs from those in whose place they are presumed to have succeeded, can, nevertheless, also be said to be a shoot of the same institute of Elijah. It is clear, indeed, that that Elijan tradition from Elijah downwards, the first as far as Christ, the second from Christ as far as Berthold, [has] contradictions that are not minor for learned men requiring a more solid proof on account of something of such a size and of so many centuries as is being alleged than the bare tradition of those, especially, whose assertions in other matters, which do not go back so far from our time as the times of Elijah and Christ, to the 12th and 13th centuries I say, differ among themselves in various ways and are discovered to be subject to very frequent and most evident errors, might provide. On that subject, nevertheless, we are not persuaded by those contradictions where the debate is seen to be more concerned with the name used than about the matter itself that we allow our name to be mixed in. Nor do we want to reject, much less to oppose, all those Saints who enlightened the eremitical or monastic profession in Palestine or Syria with the splendour of their virtues, which the Carmelite Order should not consider its own. On the contrary, we ask only the one grace that they might patiently put up with us abstaining from ascribing that title of the Saints to their Order until, concerning the truth of such a title, it will have been proved more certain to us.

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[18] What is described here as being, almost, denied is outlined in the sentences which follow, which should be read as indicating what one 'tradition of the Carmelite Order' holds rather than as expressing Papenbroeck's own views.

43.[19] Under this declaration,[20] namely that, by our silence, we do not want to reject the procession of the Carmelite Order from Elijah, and what needs to be said concerning the Hermits having been instructed concerning the Albertine Rule, we do not wish to be drawn towards the overthrow of the alleged procession. On the contrary, we long for nothing more than to find solid proofs for that thing needing to be established. Under this declaration, I say, I will attempt to explain the history of the Carmelite hermitage, in proportion to the state which it began to have under its first three Latin Priors, Berthold, Brocard and Cyril, in so far as it can be known, both from the authors of their own times and of nearer times, and from the very same Rule, appropriately applied according to the measure of its smallness to the tender and new shoot by Bl. Albert the Patriarch. In order that this might be done in an orderly and clear manner, indeed, the unchanged content of the said Rule needs to be presented to the Reader before other things. According to which thing, just as to a touchstone of truth, it can be explored whether, in this Commentary, I am going towards a greater similarity to the truth or whether the inspiration of the soul is to something more negative. May God, who is the most sincere truth and the most absolute charity, direct the manner of writing so that there is nothing different from the truth, that I will write nothing contrary to charity. May the same bring it about that those for whose sake I take up this labour,[21] which has been turned aside for a long time and often, may thus flourish continually in their understand-

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[19] [43] *Sub hac protestatione, quod scilicet proceßionem Ordinis Carmelitici ab Elia silentio nostro non velimus reprobare; & quod dicenda de Eremitis Albertina Regula instructis, ad proceßionis prætensæ eversionem trahi nolimus; imo nihil magis exoptemus, quam invenire solidas ad illam stabiliendam probationes: sub hac inquam protestatione, conabor explicare historiam Carmeliticæ eremi, pro eo statu, quem cœpit habere sub tribus suis primis inter Latinos Prioribus, Bertholdo, Brocardo, atque Cyrillo, quatenus is cognosci poterit, tum ex auctoribus eorum & viciniorum temporum, tum ex ipsamet Regula, tenero novelloque germini ad suæ exiguitatis mensuram congrue applicata a B. Alberto Patriarcha. Hoc vero ut ordinate ac dilucide fiat, proponendus Lectori ante omnia est prædictæ Regulæ invariatus tenor: ad quem, velut ad Lydium lapidem, explorari potest, utrum majorem veri similitudinem, an affectum animi ad negativam propensioris secutus in hoc Commentario sim. Deus, qui sincerißima veritas est & absolutißima caritas, stylum dirigat, ut nihil a veritate dissonum, nihil caritati contrarium scribam: idem faciat, ut ii quorum causa laborem hunc sumo, diu ac sæpe declinatum, sic deinceps in suo abundent sensu, ut veteribus novisque fictionibus repudiatis, (quarum justa accusatio multo magis ipsorum causæ officit quam alia quæcumque adversantium argumenta) solidiori, si fieri potest, via progrediantur ad conciliandam verosimilitudinem traditionibus suis. Regula ab Alberto data hæc est:*

[20] This phrase pointing back to the need for greater proof at the end of n. 42, should be read, it seems, as so governing what follows that not wanting to reject the Elijan procession/succession has the status of a desire that cannot be fulfilled.

[21] From the context, this refers to the Carmelites.

ing so that, having repudiated the old and the new fictions (of which fictions a just accusation is that it is much more of their own pretence than any other arguments of the adversaries whatsoever that is detrimental), their understanding becoming more solid, if it could be done, they would progress on the way towards the required authentic unification of their traditions. The Rule given by Albert is this:

> 44.[22]
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> Albert, called by the grace of God to be Patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem, to Brocard[23] and the other hermits who reside under their obedience [to him] beside the spring on Mount Carmel, beloved sons in Christ, salvation in the Lord and the blessing of the Holy Spirit.
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> In many circumstances and in various forms, the Holy Fathers have laid down how each one – in whatever [ecclesiastical] order he will have been, or whatever form of Religious Life he will have chosen – ought to live as the vassal of Jesus Christ and serve the same [Christ] faithfully from a pure heart and a good conscience. Notwithstanding that, however, because you ask from us that, taking account of your proposed manner of life, we hand down to you a formula of life which you ought to observe in the future:
>
> I. What we establish in the first place is that you shall have a Prior, one of you who is chosen for this office in conformity with the unanimous approval of all, or of the greater and more mature part, to whom each of the others shall promise obedience and should strive to fulfil that promised by the authentic nature of the work.

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[22] *Albertus, Dei gratia Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ vocatus Patriarcha, dilectis in Christo filiis, Brocardo & ceteris Eremitis, qui sub ejus obedientia juxta fontem in monte Carmeli morantur, salutem in Domino & sancti Spiritus benedictionem.*

Multifariam multisque modis sancti Patres instituerunt, qualiter quisque, in quocumque Ordine fuerit, vel quemcumque modum religiosæ vitæ elegerit, in obsequio Jesu Christi vivere debeat, & eidem fideliter de corde puro & bona conscientia deservire. Verum quia requiritis a nobis, ut juxta propositum vestrum, tradamus vobis vitæ formulam, quam tenere imposterum debeatis,

I. Illud imprimis statuimus, ut unum ex vobis habeatis Priorem, qui ex unanimi omnium assensu vel majoris & sanioris partis ad hoc officium eligatur: cui obedientiam promittat quilibet aliorum, & promissam studeat operis veritate servare.

II. Præterea juxta situm loci, quem inhabitare proposueritis, singuli vestrum singulas habeant cellulas separatas, sicut per dispositionem Prioris ipsius, & de assensu aliorum Fratrum vel sanioris partis, eædem cellulæ cuique fuerint assignatæ.

[23] The earliest extant texts have 'B.' rather than 'Brocard'.

II. Henceforth, taking account of the topography of the place which you propose to inhabit, each and all should have individual separate cells, just as these same cells will have been allotted to each one by means of the arrangement of the Prior himself, and depending on the approval of the other brothers or of the more mature part [of them].

III.[24] And it should not be permitted to any of the brothers to change the place allotted to him, or to exchange it with another, unless depending on the permission of the Prior at the time.

IV. The Prior's cell should be next to the entrance of the place so that he may meet those coming to the same place first and, afterwards, depending on his decision and depending on his arrangement, all those things that need to be done may proceed.

V. They should remain, one to each, in their cells, or next to them, meditating on the law of the Lord by day and by night and keeping watch in prayers, unless they are occupied for other lawful reasons.

VI.[25] Those who know [their] letters and [how] to read the psalms should say those that have been allotted for each of the hours by the arrangement of the Holy Fathers and the approved custom of the Church, at each of the hours. Those, however, who do not know

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[24] *III. Nec liceat alicui Fratrum, nisi de licentia Prioris, qui pro tempore fuerit, deputatum sibi locum mutare, vel cum alio permutare.*

IV. Cellula Prioris sit juxta introitum loci, ut venientibus ad eumdem locum primus occurrat; & de arbitrio & dispositione ipsius postmodum, quæ agenda sunt, cuncta procedant.

V. Maneant singuli in cellulis suis vel juxta eas, die ac nocte in lege Domini meditantes, & in orationibus suis vigilantes, nisi justis occasionibus occupentur.

[25] *VI. Hi qui litteras noverunt & legere Psalmos, per singulas Horas eos dicant, qui ex institutione Sanctorum Patrum & Ecclesiæ approbata consuetudine ad Horas singulas sunt deputati: qui vero litteras non noverunt, viginti quinque vicibus dicant Pater-noster in nocturnis vigiliis, exceptis Dominicis & solennibus diebus; in quorum vigiliis prædictum numerum statuimus duplicari, ut dicatur Pater-noster vicibus quinquaginta. Septies autem eadem dicatur oratio in Laudibus Matutinis. In aliis quoque Horis septies similiter eadem singulatim dicatur oratio, præter officia vespertina, in quibus ipsam quindecies dicere debeatis.*

VII. Nullus Fratrum sibi dicat aliquid esse proprium, sed sint vobis omnia communia; & ex his quæ vobis Dominus dederit, distribuatur unicuique per manum Prioris, id est per hominem ab eo ad idem officium deputatum, prout unicuique opus fuerit, inspectis ætatibus & necessitatibus singulorum. Ita tamen ut, sicut præmissum est, in deputatis cellulis singuli maneant, & ex his quæ sibi distributa fuerint singulariter vivant.

VIII. Oratorium, prout commodius fieri poterit, construatur in medio cellularum: ubi mane per singulos dies, ad audienda Missarum solennia, convenire debeatis, ubi hoc commode fieri poterit.

IX. Dominicis quoque diebus, vel aliis ubi opus fuerit, de custodia Ordinis tractetis: ubi etiam excessus & culpæ Fratrum, si quæ de aliquo deprehensæ fuerint, caritate media corrigantur.

[their] letters are to say the Our Father twenty-five times for the night vigil except for the Lord's day [Sunday] and solemn feastdays, for the vigils of which we establish that the stated number should be doubled, so that the Our Father is said fifty times. But the same prayer is to be said seven times for the morning praises [Matins]. Also for the other hours, one by one, similarly, the same prayer is to be said seven times, except for the evening office, for which you ought to say it fifteen times.

VII. None of the brothers is to claim anything to be his own, but let all things be common to you; and, out of such things as the Lord will have given you, and, having looked at the ages and needs of each one, by the hand of the Prior, that is by means of the person appointed by him to the same office, let it be distributed to each one according as, for each one, the need will be. Nevertheless, just as has been laid down earlier, they are to remain, one to each, in the allotted cells in such a way that they live on their own, and from those things that will have been distributed to them.

VIII. According as more conveniently it will have been possible to be done, an oratory is to be built in the middle of the cells, where, when it will have been possible to be done conveniently, you ought to gather together in the morning each day for hearing the solemnities of the Mass. On the Lord's day [Sunday] also, or on other [days] when there will be need, you shall discuss concerning the preservation of rank and the salvation of [your] souls; when, also, the transgressions and the faults of the brothers (if such were to be discovered in someone), are to be corrected with the intervention of charity.

IX.[26] You should observe a fast each day, except the Lord's day [Sunday], from the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross until the day of the Resurrection of the Lord, unless bodily sickness or debility, or another just cause, counsels a lifting of the fast, because necessity has no law.

X. You are always to abstain from the eating of meats, unless they are taken as a remedy for sickness or debility.

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[26] *X. Jejunium singulis diebus, exceptis Dominicis, observetis a festo exaltationis sanctæ Crucis, usque ad diem Dominicæ resurrectionis, nisi infirmitas vel debilitas corporis aut alia justa causa jejunium solvi suadeat: quia necessitas non habet legem.*

XI. Ab esu carnium semper abstineatis, nisi pro infirmitatis aut nimiæ debilitatis remedio sint sumendæ.

XII.[27] Certainly, because a person's life on earth is a military service[28] and all who wish to live devotedly in Christ suffer persecution; because, also, your adversary the devil, a roaring lion, so to speak, goes about seeking whom he might devour, you should strive with all care to put on the armour of God so that you may be able to hold out against the ambush of the enemy. The loins must be girded with the belt of chastity; the breast must be protected by holy reflections, for it is written, holy reflection will sustain you. The breastplate of righteousness must be put on, so that you may love the Lord your God out of your whole heart, and out of your whole soul and out of your whole strength, and your neighbour as much as your selves. Alongside all [these other elements], the shield of faith, on which you will be able to quench all the fiery arrows of the most wicked one, must be taken up; for without faith it is impossible to please God, and this is the victory that conquers the world, your faith. The helmet of salvation must also be set upon the head so that you may hope for salvation from the only Saviour who saves his people from their sins. However, the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, is to dwell richly in the mouth and in your hearts; and whatever [actions] must be done by you, let them be brought about in [the power of] the word of the Lord.

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[27] *XII. Quia vero militia est vita hominis, & omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo persecutionem patiuntur; adversarius quoque vester diabolus, tamquam leo rugiens, circuit quærens quem devoret; omni solicitudine studeatis indui armatura Dei, ut possitis stare adversus insidias inimici. Accingendi sunt lumbi vestri cingulo castitatis, muniendum est pectus cogitationibus sanctis: scriptum est enim, Cogitatio sancta servabit te. Induenda est lorica justitiæ, ut Dominum Deum vestrum, ex toto corde, & ex tota anima, & ex tota virtute diligatis, & proximum vestrum tamquam vosmetipsos. Sumendum est in omnibus scutum fidei, in quo possitis omnia tela nequissimi ignea extinguere: Sine fide enim impossibile est placere Deo, &, Hæc est victoria, quæ vincit mundum, fides vestra. Galea quoque salutis imponenda est capiti, ut de solo Salvatore speretis salutem, qui salvum facit populum suum a peccatis eorum. Gladius autem spiritus, quod est verbum Dei, abundanter habitet in ore & in cordibus vestris; & quæcumque vobis agenda sunt, in verbo Domini fiant.*

XIII. Faciendum est vobis aliquod operis, ut semper vos diabolus inveniat occupatos: ne ex otiositate vestra aliquem intrandi aditum ad animas vestras valeat invenire. Habetis ad hoc B. Pauli Apostoli magisterium pariter & exemplum: in cujus ore Christus loquebatur, qui positus est & datus a Deo prædicator & doctor gentium in fide & veritate: quem si secuti fueritis, non poteritis aberrare. In labore, inquit, & fatigatione fuimus, inter vos, nocte ac die operantes, ne quem vestrum gravaremus. [2 Thess. 3, 8] Non quasi nos non habeamus potestatem: sed ut nosmetipsos formam daremus vobis ad imitandum vos. Nam cum essemus apud vos, hæc denuntiabamus vobis: Quoniam si quis non vult operari non manducet. Audivimus enim inter vos quosdam ambulantes inquiete, nihil operantes: his autem qui ejusmodi sunt, denuntiamus & obsecramus in Domino Jesu Christo, ut cum silentio operantes suum panem manducent. Hæc via sancta & bona; ambulate in ea.

[28] The reading followed here, 'military service (*militia*)', is probably not the original, which was probably 'temptation (*temptatio*)', see Mullins O.Carm., *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spiritualilty*, 245 n. 1.

XIII. Some work or other must be done by you, so that the devil may always find you occupied for fear that, through your idleness, he be able to find some prospect of entering as far as your souls. On this subject you have, simultaneously, the teaching and the example of Blessed Paul the Apostle, in whose mouth Christ used to speak, a preacher and teacher of the nations in faith and truth who has been appointed and given by God; whom, if you will have followed, you will not have been able to go astray. In labour, he says, and weariness we have been among you, working by night and by day lest we burden any of you (see 2 Thess 3:8), not as if we do not have the authority but so that we might make a gift of our very selves to you [as] a pattern for imitating us. For instance, when we were among you, we were declaring this to you: the one who does not want to work is not to eat. Why, we have heard that, among you, there are certain people going about restlessly, working not at all... To those, however, who are of such a kind, we declare and we implore in the Lord Jesus Christ that, working in silence, they might eat their bread. This is the holy and good way, walk on it.

XIV.[29] And indeed the apostle [Paul] recommends silence, when he orders that work must be done in it and, as for instance the prophet declares: Silence is "the pursuit of righteousness"; and a second time, in silence and hope will be your strength (see Isa 32:17). And, for that reason, we lay down that, from the evening hour until the

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[29] *XIV. Commendat vobis Apostolus silentium, cum in eo præcipit operandum: & quemadmodum Propheta testatur, Cultus justitiæ, silentium est: & rursum, In silentio & spe erit fortitudo vestra. [Is. 32, 17] Ideoque statuimus, ut ab Hora vespertina usque ad Horam tertiam sequentis diei silentium teneatis: nisi forte necessitas vel causa rationabilis aut licentia Prioris silentium interrumpat. Alio vero tempore, licet silentii non habeatur observatio tanta, diligentius tamen a multiloquio caveatur: quoniam scriptum est, & non minus experientia docet: In multiloquio non deerit peccatum: [Prov. 10, 19] &, Qui inconsideratus est ad loquendum sentiet mala: item, Qui multis utitur verbis lædit animam suam: [Ib. 13, 3, Ib. 20, 8] & Dominus in Euangelio, De omni verbo otioso, quod locuti fuerint homines, reddent rationem de eo in die judicii. [Matth. 12, 36] Faciat ergo unusquisque stateram verbis suis, & frænos rectos ori suo, ne forte labatur & cadat in lingua sua, & insanabilis sit casus ejus ad mortem: custodiens cum Propheta vias suas, ut non delinquat in lingua sua; & silentium, in quo cultus justitiæ est, diligenter & caute studeat observare. [Ps. 38, 2]*

XV. Tu autem Brocarde, & quicumque post te institutus fuerit Prior, illud semper habeatis in mente & servetis in opere, quod Dominus ait in Euangelio, Quicumque voluerit inter vos major esse frater, erit vester minister: & quicumque voluerit inter vos primus esse, erit vester servus. [Matt. 20, 26]

XVI. Vos quoque ceteri Fratres, Priorem vestrum honorate humiliter, Christum potius cogitantes quam ipsum, qui posuit illum super capita vestra, & Ecclesiarum Præpositis etiam ait, Qui vos audit me audit, & qui vos spernit me spernit: ut non veniatis in judicium de contemptu, sed de obedientia mereamini vitæ æternæ mercedem. [Luc. 10, 16]

Hæc breviter scripsi, vobis conversationis vestræ formulam statuens, secundum quam vivere debeatis: si quis autem supererogaverit; ipse Dominus, cum redierit, reddet ei: utatur tamen discretione, quæ virtutum est moderatrix. Ex Achon, Idus Januarii.

third hour of the following day, you are to observe silence, unless, by chance, [a case] of necessity, or a reasonable cause, or the Prior's permission, should interrupt the silence. At another time, certainly, although there is not as much observance of silence, you are to be more diligently on guard against talkativeness, nevertheless, seeing that, just as it is written, and experience teaches no less, in talkativeness, sin will not be lacking (see Prov 10:19); and the one who is careless in speaking will experience evils. In like manner, the one who uses many words harms his soul (see Prov 13:3; 20:8). And the Lord in the Gospel: concerning every vain word that people will have spoken, they will have to deliver an account concerning it on the day of judgement (see Mt 12:36). Let each one, therefore, make a measure for his words, and proper restraints for his mouth lest, by chance, he stumble and fall through his tongue and his fall be irreparable unto death. Guarding his ways with the prophet so that he does not offend through his speech, he should likewise strive to diligently and carefully observe silence, in which the pursuit of righteousness is found (see Ps 38:2).

XV. But you, Brocard,[30] and whoever will have been instituted Prior after you, should always keep in mind, and fulfil in action, that which the Lord asserted in the Gospel: Whoever will have wished to be made greater among you shall be your servant, and whoever among you will have wished to be first shall be your slave (see Mt 20:26).

XVI. And you too, the other brothers, humbly honour your Prior, rather than him, thinking about Christ who appointed that individual over your heads; and he asserted to the leaders of the Churches: whoever hears you hears me, and whoever despises you despises me, so that you will not come to judgement on account of contempt, but, on account of obedience, earn the reward of eternal life (see Lk 10:16).

I have written these things briefly for you establishing the formula of your common life, according to which you ought to conduct yourselves. However, if anyone spends more, the Lord himself will pay him when he comes again; nevertheless, he should use discretion, which is the moderator of the virtues. From Acre, on the ides[31] of January.[32]

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[30] The earliest extant texts have 'Brother B.' rather than 'Brocard'.

[31] In modern terms, the ides of January refers to January 13th.

[32] The phrase 'From Acre, on the ides of January (*Ex Achon, Idus Januarii*)' is not found in the earliest extant texts.

Chapter 6

The Condition and Number of Those to Whom the Rule Was Given: From Where These Things Were Taken, Indeed, is Explained.[1]

Albert wrote a short Rule, but long enough for a few hermits, whose first ones we know from an eye-witness in the year 1185 had been only ten under an aged monk and priest, having been introduced into that place needing to be inhabited by an apparition of that Prophet,[2] whose disciples did not spread themselves out before the Rule was given. Albert gave it, however, from his own knowledge, not, indeed, from St Basil or from John of Jerusalem, whose book Philippe Labbé, Cardinal Bellarmine and de Brasichella, the Master of the Sacred Palace, Théophile Raynaud and François de Bivar reject. The author of the book was younger, perhaps the said Waloon,[3] Jean Neuveu du Bois, and a Carmelite. For that thing needing to be affirmed,[4] the equally false Letter of Cyril (and both writings were unknown to very many Carmelites for a long time) and the book under the name of Joseph of Antioch having been alleged to have been used before John, and the Dexterine fictions,[5] by which, now, some were defending themselves, would not help. Carmel itself was not considered as being among the holy places in the time of St Jerome, nor in the year 720, nor, indeed, before there was any monastery in that place; it was certainly not afterwards, and it was a neglected place beyond the year 1130; it began to be visited after the coming of Berthold. Up to then, it was reckoned

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[1] *CAPUT VI. Conditio & numerus eorum quibus Regula data; hæc vero unde sumpta, explicatur.*

[2] The Prophet in question is Elijah.

[3] The Walloons are (and were) a French-speaking people who live mainly in Wallonia, now part of Belgium.

[4] In other words, in order to affirm that Albert based his Rule/Formula of Life on St Basil or on John of Jerusalem.

[5] This refers to the alleged writings of Dexter, discussed in n. 141.

that the first church of the Blessed Virgin had been the church of Antarados. In the meantime the others torment themselves fruitlessly in order to find [Prior] Generals in that place before Berthold, and to that place they draw the soothsayer Basilides, and the Abbots of the monastery of Elijah, who, it is clear from the Acts of the Councils,[6] must be unitedly asserted to be Constantinopolitans.[7]

45.[8] This is the 'earliest' or 'original Rule' of the Carmelites, called 'the soul and form of the Order' by some, afterwards approved

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[6] The Councils were those held in Constantinople in 448 and 536.

[7] *Regulam scripsit Albertus brevem, sed longam satis pro paucis eremitis, quarum primos scimus ex oculato teste anno 1185, decem dumtaxat fuisse, sub monacho sene ac Sacerdote, ad illic habitandum apparitione Prophetæ ipsius inducto; cujus discipuli ante Regulam datam non extenderint sese. Eam autem dedit Albertus. ex propria scientia, non vero ex S. Basilio, aut Ioanne Hierosolymis, cujus librum rejiciunt, Philippus Labbe, Card. Bellarminus & Brasichellensis Mag. S. P., Theophil. Raynaudus, Franc. Bivarius. Auctor libri fuit junior, forsan Walo dictus lean Neuveu du Bois, & Carmelita. Pro eo asserendo nihil juvat Epistola Cyrilli, æque supposititia: & utrumque scriptum plerisque Carmelitis diu ignotum fuit, uti & liber sub nomine Iosephi Antiocheni allegatus ante Ioannem, & figmenta Dextrina, quibus nunc aliqui se tuentur. Ipse Carmelus non habebatur inter loca sacra, tempore S. Hieronymi, nec anno 720, forte nec antea quidem ullum ibi monasterium fuit, certe non fuit postea; & ultra an. 1130 neglectus locus, visitari cœpit post adventum Bertholdi: quando adhuc putabatur, prima B. V. ecclesia fuisse Antaradi. Interim inutiliter se torquent alii, ut inveniant ibi Generales ante Bertholdum; eoque trahunt Basilidem aruspicem, & Abbates monasterii Eliæ, quos Constantinopolitanos censendos esse, patet ex Actis Conciliorum.*

[8] [45] *Hæc est primæva seu primigenia Regula Carmelitarum, Ordinis anima & forma a non nemine dicta; a Romanis Pontificibus postmodum probata, & varie mitigata. Quam conferens cum supra memorata S. Augustini Regula, scripta ad institutionem unius solius parthenonis, in quo ipsa sancti Doctoris soror Præposita fuerat, postea autem ad plura, etiam virorum, monasteria usu approbante deducta; prorsus in hoc simillimam invenio, quod sicut Augustiniana, ex sui auctoris mente, longius se non extendebat, quam ad illas paucas sanctimoniales quibus scribebatur (utpote quarum nulla esset cum aliis cœnobiis communio regiminis aut dependentiæ mutuæ) ita nec Albertinæ vel minimum indicium habeat, ex quo prudenter inferre poßit aliquis, novellum sub Brocardo germen ultra Carmelum diffusum fuisse cum hæc dictaret Albertus, aut alibi quam juxta fontem habitavisse. Propositum erat, vitam eremiticam sub obedientia ducere: hoc annorum aliquot usus, absque ullo forsitan voti arctioris vinculo continuatus, comprobaverat. Nulla adhuc certa vitæ formula scripta erat, ad quam se obligarent: petita hæc ab Alberto est. Brevem is scripsit; nec enim humili tunc arbusto, & nihil minus promittente quam secutam postmodum proceritatem, longa opus erat pertica, ut stare posset. Exteriorem vitæ formulam primum articulis undecim, aliis deinde quinque interiorem composuit: nihil de ministeriis erga proximum, nihil de studiis litterarum, nihil de Superiorum plurium inter se subordinatione, nihil de cura aut regimine sanctimonialium, nihil de cantu aut choro præcipit: quod certum est argumentum, nihil adhuc tale inter Eremitas illos aut reipsa fuisse usu inductum aut cogitatione designatum. Notabile est autem, quod magni Auberti Miraei ex sorere nepos, idemque in hac Antverpiensi Cathedrali Ecclesia Canonicus Archidiaconus & Illustriss. ac Reverendiss. D. Episcopi Antverpiensis Vicarius Generalis*

and mitigated in various ways by the Roman Pontiffs. Comparing this Rule with the above-mentioned Rule of St Augustine, written for the instruction of only one house of virgins[9] in which the very sister of the holy Doctor was the head,[10] the use having been approved afterwards, however, having been introduced for many monasteries, also of men, I find, certainly, that it is most similar in this: that, just as the Augustinian Rule, out of the mentality of its author, was not extending itself further than to those few nuns to whom he was writing (inasmuch as there was no communion of government or of mutual dependence of them with other convents), thus there would not have been even the minimum indication of the Albertine Rule out of which anyone could prudently infer that, under Brocard, the new sprout had been spread beyond Carmel, or that it had been lived somewhere other than next to the spring,[11] when Albert dictated this. The 'intended manner of life'[12] was to lead the eremitical life under obedience: Without, perhaps, any closer link to a vow, the continuous practice of a few years will have proved this. Up to then, no certain formula of life had been written to which they had obliged themselves: This is what was asked from Albert. He wrote a short formula of life: then, to be sure, it was not a long work in order that it might stand as a measuring rod for a humble orchard, and one that was promising, afterwards, to achieve nothing less than a great height. In the first eleven articles, he composed the exterior formula of the life; next, in the other five, the interior for-

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librorumque Censor, Aubertus van den Eede, bis visis, animadvertit: videlicet in tota hac Regula nullum inveniri vestigium peculiaris cujusdam erga beatissimam Virginem Mariam devotionis, ac ne Fratribus quidem litterarum imperitis, dum praescribitur Psalmorum loco Dominica oratio certo numero recitanda, addi pariter mandatum de salutatione Angelica; cujus tamen usus non ignotus ecclesia erat, & eo fere tempore per S. Dominicum ejusque sequaces inceperat vehementer celebrari in Europa. Unde vir iste eruditisimus consequens esse censet, peculiare istud Maria Virginis patrocinium, quo nunc tantopere & tanto jure gloriatur Ordo Carmeliticus, ad S. Alberti tempora nequaquam spectare; sed initium habuisse ab ecclesia nova & ampliori, quam circa extremos Brocardi annos sub titulo B. Maria Virginis aedificatam infra ostendemus novum nomen peperisse eremitis, qui eatenus noncupabantur a fonte, juxta quem oratorium suum habebant.

[9] The term used here originally referred to the Parthenon, the temple of Athene on the Acropolis of Athens with its community of virgin priestesses.

[10] In his General Audience on January 9th 2008, Pope Benedict XVI noted that the name of the sister of St Augustine who became the head or *praeposita* of a monastery of women after being widowed is not known to us.

[11] As can be seen from the opening words of the Formula of Life in the previous chapter of this book, Albert described the location of the hermitage as being 'beside the spring on Mount Carmel (*iuxta fontem in monte Carmeli*)'.

[12] On this translation of *propositum*, see Mullins O.Carm., *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spiritualilty*, 157.

mula of the life. It prescribes nothing concerning ministries towards the neighbour, nothing concerning the studies of letters, nothing concerning the subordination of many Superiors among themselves, nothing concerning the care or government of nuns, nothing concerning singing or the choir. By this very thing, the evidence is certain that, up to this, no such practice had either been introduced or deliberately defined among those hermits. That thing which the nephew of the sister of Aubert le Mire, and the same one who in this Cathedral Church of Antwerp is a Canon Archdeacon and the most Illustrious and Reverend Doctor, the Vicar General and Censor of books of the Bishop of Antwerp, Aubert van den Eede, observes, having twice seen [this text],[13] is notable, however. Manifestly that, in the whole of that Rule, no vestige is found of a certain special devotion towards the Most Blessed Virgin Mary, and, indeed, when the Lord's Prayer needing to be recited a certain number of times is prescribed in place of the Psalms for the Brothers unacquainted with letters, a commandment was not attached as well concerning the Angelic greeting, whose use, nevertheless, was not unknown by the Church and, by means of St Dominic and his followers, was just at that time beginning to be eagerly celebrated in Europe. For which reason, that most learned man is of the opinion that it follows that the particular patronage of the Virgin Mary of which the Carmelite Order now boasts with such labour and with such right pertains by no means to the times of St Albert but had its beginning from the new and larger church built under the title of the Blessed Virgin Mary around the final years of Brocard; we will show below[14] that a new name flowered for the Hermits, who up to then were known by the spring, next to which they had their oratory.[15]

46.[16] I will not seek out by means of the steep ascents of gratuitous conjectures or the slippery slopes of uncertain traditions in what number

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[13] This refers to the present dossier on St Albert of Jerusalem.

[14] See n. 56.

[15] On the addition of the section concerning Aubert van den Eede, beginning 'Notabile est autem' and ending 'quem oratorium suum habebant', to the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):909.

[16] [46] *Quando illi locum cœperint habitare, quo primum vitæ magistro usi, quot numero fuerint, non ego per abrupta gratuitarum conjecturarum nec per lubrica traditionum incertarum requiram: sed audiam irrefragabilem atque oculatum testem Joannem, Sacerdotem pientissimi Phocæ, filium Matthæi monachi, exercentis se in insula Patmo, qui vidit sancta loca anno MCLXXXV, uti in rubrica nomen, genus, conditio & ætas auctoris prænotatur ad marginem opusculi ejus Ms. quod autographum viderat Leo Allatius, in patria sua Chio degens, atque a se Latine redditum Bartoldo Nihusio amico suo misit in Hollandiam, qui illud Amstelodami anno MDCLIV, Kalcovit Coloniensis typographi*

they were when, because, at first, such a life was practiced by the master of life,[17] they began to live in that place. But I will listen to the inviolable and conspicuous witness,

> John, the Priest of the most holy Phoca, the son of Matthew the monk, training himself on the island of Patmos, who saw the holy places in the year 1185.[18]

Thus, the name, kind, situation and age of the author are noted in the title that is in the margin of the autograph manuscript of his little work that Leone Allacci had seen when living in Chios, his own country, and, rendered by him in Latin, sent to his friend in Holland, Berthold Nihusius, who, having changed the name, had that thing printed in Amsterdam by the printing house Kalcovit of Cologne in the year 1654.[19] I will, indeed, give the unchanged text, that is the entire second-last chapter of

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nomine mutuato, imprimi fecit. Lubet vero tam authentici scriptoris contextum integrum Græce ac Latine dare, id est totum penultimum opusculi caput, quod est hujusmodi: Μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τό Καρμήλιον ὄρος, περι οὗ πολὺς λόγος παρά τε τῇ παλαιᾷ γραφῇ καὶ τῇ καινῇ ὑπηγορεύεται. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ ὄρος, ζυγὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θαλαττίου κόλπου, τοῦ περὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίδα καὶ τοῦ Καιφᾶ κοιλαινομένου, ἄρχομενος, καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας διήκει ὁρίων. Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ ζυγοῦ, ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠλιοῦ σπήλαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐκεῖνος διατελέσας ἀνὴρ, μετάρσιος γέγονεν. Ἦν μεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χώρῳ πάλαι μεγάλη μονὴ, ὡς τὰ νῦν φαινόμενα τῶν κτισμάτων διδάσκουσι λείψανα· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ του χρόνου, τοῦ τὰ πάντα γηράσκοντος, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀλλεπαλλήλων ἐπιδρομῆς, ἠφάνισταιλεον. Πρὸ δέ τινων χρόνων ἀνὴρ μοναχὸς, ἱερεὺς τὴν ἀξίαν, πόλιοσ τὴν τρίχα, Καλαυρηδόθεν ὁρμώμενος, ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Προφήτου τῷ τόπῳ ἐπιδημήσας, ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις, ἢ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τῆς μονῆς καταλύμασι, θριγγίον πύξας μικρὸν, καὶ πύργον οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρας μικρὸν, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ὡσεὶ δεκὰ συνάξας, νῦν τὸν ἅγιον χῶρον ἐκεῖνον οἰκεῖ. *Subsequitur mons Carmelus, de quo in veteri recentiorique scriptura plurimus sermo est. Jugatur mons, ab ipso maris sinu, qui circa Ptolemaidem & Caipham incurvatur, initium ducens & ad Galileæ fines perveniens. In extrema parte jugi, qua mare respicit, Prophetæ Eliæ spelunca spectatur, in qua Angelicam vitæ rationem cum exegisset mirificus vir ille, in aëra sublatus est. Erat eo loci antiquitus monasterium magnum, ut structurarum vestigia ad hæc usque tempora commonstrant: sed illud tempore, quod omnia in senium impellit, & gentium variis incursionibus penitus abolitum. Verum ante aliquot annos quidam monachus, dignitate Sacerdos, capillitio albus, e Calabria oriundus, ex Prophetæ revelatione in montem appellens, ea loca, monasterii nempe reliquias, vallo perparvo cinxit, & turri ædificata, temploque non ingenti extructo, Fratribusque ferme decem collectis, etiamnum sanctum illum ambitum colit.*

[17] This refers, presumably, to Christ's practice of spending time in solitude on a mountain.

[18] See Barthold Nihusius, ed. *Leonis Allatii: Summikta, sive, Opusculorum: graecorum et latinorum, vetustiorum ac recentiorum, libri duo* (Cologne: J. Kalcovius, 1653), 5.

[19] See ibid.

the little work of the original writer in both Greek and Latin,[20] which is of this kind:

> Μετὰ ταῦτά ἐστι τό Καρμήλιον ὄρος, περι οὗ πολὺς λόγος παρά τε τῇ παλαιᾷ γραφῇ καὶ τῇ καινῇ ὑπηγορεύεται. Ἔστι δὲ ὁ ὄρος, ζυγὸς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ θαλαττίου κόλπου, τοῦ περὶ τὴν Πτολεμαίδα καὶ τοῦ Καιφῶ κοιλαινομένου, ἄρχομενος, καὶ μέχρι τῶν τῆς Γαλιλαίας διήκει ὁρίων. Περὶ δὲ τὸ ἀκροτελεύτιον τὸ πρὸς τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦ ζυγοῦ, ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου Ἠλιοῦ σπήλαιον, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν πολιτείαν ὁ θαυμαστὸς ἐκεῖνος διατελέσας ἀνὴρ, μετάρσιος γέγονεν. Ἦν μεν ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ χὼρῳ πάλαι μεγάλη μονὴ, ὡς τὰ νῦν φαινόμενα τῶν κτισμάτων διδάσκουσι λείψανα· ἀλλ' ὑπὸ του χρόνου, τοῦ τὰ πάντα γηράσκοντος, καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀλλεπαλλήλων ἐπιδρομῆς, ἠφάνισατέλεον.[21] Πρὸ δέ τινων χρόνων ἀνὴρ μοναχὸς, ἱερεὺς τὴν ἀξίαν, πόλιοσ τὴν τρίχα, Καλαυρηδόθεν ὁρμώμενος, ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως τοῦ Προφήτου τῷ τόπῳ ἐπιδημήσας, ἐν τοῖς τόποις ἐκείνοις, ἢ ὡς ἐν τοῖς τῆς μονῆς καταλύμασι, θριγγίον πύξας μικρὸν, καὶ πύργον οἰκοδομήσας, καὶ ναὸν ἀνεγείρας μικρὸν, καὶ ἀδελφοὺς ὡσεὶ δεκὰ συνάξας, νῦν τὸν ἅγιον χῶρον ἐκεῖνον οἰκεῖ.[22]

> Mount Carmel, concerning which there is much said in both ancient and modern writings, follows. The mountain, with which the beginning [of the mountain range] is connected by the curve of the sea that forms a bow between Acre and Haifa, leads to and reaches as far as Galilee. At the end of the range which is nearest to the sea, the cave of the prophet Elijah can be seen, in which that marvellous man, after having lived like the angels, was caught up into Heaven. In that place there was a large monastery in ancient times, as the ruined buildings which remain at the present day tell us; but time, which wears out all things, and successive invasions of the enemy, have ruined it utterly. However, some time ago a monk, with the rank of a priest, with white hair, a native of Calabria, as the result of a revelation of the prophet [Elijah] calling [him], came to that place, the ruins of the monastery, and, having surrounded it with a little rampart, and having built a tower, and raised up a modest church, and having gathered together about ten brothers, he inhabits that holy place to this day.

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[20] Below, the Latin text (already given in an earlier footnote), is replaced with an English translation.

[21] On the replacement of ἠφάνισταιλεον with ἠφάνισατέλεον in the original Greek text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):909.

[22] See Nihusius, *Leonis Allatii: Summikta*, 1:45-46 (n. XXXI).

47.[23] Thus far, at one time, John himself in Greek and, at another, the most accomplished interpreter in Latin,[24] that first doubt, whether ambiguous things might become a sufficiently certain thing, by which I know some distinguished men tortured themselves for a long time, that there had been somebody else before Brocard to whom he himself had succeeded in the government of the Brothers, is lifted. That, on that account, all those things that were held concerning Berthold cohered together so badly that his very person itself could be considered to be something gratuitously invented. For, while it already proves correct that there

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[23] [47] *Hactenus tum ipse Ioannes Græce tum eruditißimus interpres Latine: quibus tollitur primo dubium illud, quo scio viros aliquos eruditos diu sese torsisse, ambiguos an satis certum esset, ante Brocardum alium aliquem extitisse, cui ipse in Fratrum regimine successerit: propterea quod quæ habebantur de Bertholdo, tam male omnia cohærerent, ut ipsa ejus persona videri posset gratis conficta. Dum enim jam constat fuisse aliquem, facile admittent illi ut verosimile, quod nomen ei fuerit* Bertholdus. *Deinde intelligitur, quod hactenus obscurius fuerat, quæ primis sub illo Carmelitis causa esse potuerit suæ institutionis initia ad Eliam Prophetam referendi; quamvis non eo forte quo posteri id intellexerunt modo. Innotescit quoque eorumdem primorum Carmelitarum numerus: qui non debet nimium arctus videri pro tantæ Religionis principio, quando nec S. Ignatio, Societatem tam cito tamque late diffusam instituenti, plures initio socii fuere quam decem. Quod autem ab istis decem profluxerint eæ quæ prætenduntur traditiones, de Elia ac successoribus ejus, de Virginis & Elianorum familiaritate, primoque ipsius apud illos sacello, de frequentia ac succeßione monachorum in Carmelo, de regula ab illis observata, de crudelitate Saracenorum adversus eosdem & eorum multiplicatis martyriis, deque aliis hujusmodi rebus pluribus, quarum apud antiquos scriptores nullum extat vestigium: quod, inquam, ab istis decem fluxerint hujusmodi traditiones, sicut gratis assereretur, ita facile negaretur. Demus autem decem illos, quos Latinos omnes fuisse non dubitaverim, ab indigenis accolisque Syrosaracenis ac semi-Christianis, infinitas pene nugas circa locorum sacrorum historiam solitis effundere in aures peregrinorum, etiam de Carmelo audivisse aliqua, & narrando successoribus suis tradidisse; an ea statim vim habebunt indubitabilis traditionis? Ego quidem præfatus sum, nolle me proceßionem Ordinis ab Elia vocare in controversiam, & idem rursus profiteor: valeat pro illa qualiscumque traditio; satis habeo si prudenti Lectori innotescat, non sine justa causa petere nos, ut ab eadem nostro assensu confirmanda habeamur excusati, donec nobis de ejusdem origine meliori constiterit, quam sint Syrorum quorumdam narrationes, quæ aliis in argumentis sæpe de falsitate convictæ ac nominatim in S. Georgio, non possent non etiam esse suspectæ, si quid ab iis dimanasset ad posteros, de statu Carmeli ante Bertholdum, quod aliunde non comprobaretur.*

[24] Nihusius gave a Latin translation beside John's original Greek. It reads: *Subsequitur mons Carmelus, de quo in veteri recentiorique Scriptura plurimus sermo est. jugatur mons, ab ipso maris sinu, qui circa Ptolemaidem, & Caipham incurvature, initium ducens, & ad Galilaeae fines perveniens. In extreme parti jugi, qua mare respicit, Prophetae Eliae spelunca spectator, in qua Angelicam vitae rationem cum exegisset mirificus ille vir, in aëra sublatus est. Erat eo loci antiquitus monasterium magnum, ut structurarum vestigial ad haec usque tempora commonstrant; sed illum tempore, quod Omnia in senium impellit, & gentium variis excursionibus, penitus abolitum. Verum ante aliquot annos, quidam Monachus, dignitate Sacerdos, capillitio albus, e Calabria oriundus, ex Prophetae revelation, in montem appelens, ea loca, monasterii nempe reliquias, vallo perparvo cinxit, & turri exaedificata, Temploque, non ingenti exstructo, Fratribusque ferme ad decem collectis, etiamnum sanctum illum ambitum colit.* See Nihusius, *Leonis Allatii: Summikta*, 1:45-46 (n. XXXI).

was somebody, those things easily allow as very likely[25] that he was that one, the name of whom was Berthold. Next, what had been more obscure up to then – what the reason could have been that, for the first Carmelites, the beginnings of their institution under that one needed to be referred to the Prophet Elijah - is understood, although, by chance, it was not referred only to him[26] to whom the coming generations would have understood it. The number of those same first Carmelites also becomes known. Which number should not be seen as too small on account of the beginning of so many Religious Orders, when, for St Ignatius instituting the so quickly and so widely diffused Society [of Jesus], in the beginning the associates were not more than ten. However, that from those ten would have flowed forth those traditions that were alleged, concerning Elijah and his successors, concerning the familiar intercourse of the Virgin and the followers of Elijah and the first little sanctuary of the same among those ones, concerning the assembling in great numbers and the succession of the monks on Carmel, concerning the rule observed by those ones, concerning the cruelty of the Saracens towards the same and their martyrs having been multiplied, and concerning many other things of this kind, of which no vestige is extant among ancient writers; that, I say, from those ten would have flowed traditions of this kind, such as is gratuitously asserted, is thus easily denied. I will not have doubted, nevertheless, that those ten, who were all Latins, were certainly familiar with the almost numberless nonsensical tales about the history of the holy places that were poured into the ears of pilgrims by indigenous or expatriate Syro-Saracens or semi-Christians. They would have heard some even concerning Carmel, and they handed them on by narrating them to their successors, but did they consider those things straightaway to have the power of indubitable traditions? Certainly, I have stated beforehand that I do not want to call into controversy the procession of the Order from Elijah and, again, I openly confess the same: on account of that procession a tradition of any kind would prevail. I have sufficient if it is known to the prudent Reader that we have sought, not without just cause, that from the same thing we will have been excused from confirming our assent until it will have been better established concerning the origin of the same than that there might be certain narratives of the Syrians that, having often been convicted by

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[25] Presented here as 'very likely', the identification of the Calabrian monk with Berthold I is now generally discounted because, being a Greek monk, Phocas would probably have noted that the monk in question was Latin rather than Greek rite if such were the case, see Mullins O.Carm., *The Carmelites and St Albert of Jerusalem - Origins and Identity*, 37.

[26] This refers, it seems, to the Prophet Elijah. Papenbroeck implies that the origins of the Carmelites had originally been attributed to others, including Berthold, and not only to Elijah himself.

others, and by name, in St George,[27] of falsity in their contents, they cannot also but be considered suspect if what will have been spread abroad to coming generations concerning the circumstances of Carmel before Berthold cannot be confirmed from another source.

48.[28] Moreover, since from that time in which John Phocas visited the Carmelite hermitage and discovered Berthold together with his associates there up to the time of the Rule having been given, about 24 years will have flowed forth, as we will show below, it is credible that, within that space, some increase to the first group of ten Carmelites was made, not so many, nevertheless, that, as yet, all could not be easily contained within the wall constructed by Berthold, and the common oratory could not be sufficient for them. Nor does this thing clear up for me anything needing to be said in opposition to those three monasteries concerning which Gunther, the monk in the Cistercian convent called Pairis of the Basel diocese, introduced while speaking to Bernherus, a certain one of the powerful and noble men in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, having landed below that place during the year 1204, when Martin was the Abbot of

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[27] On the unreliability of some of the traditions associated with St George, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 11 (Apr III):100-163.

[28] [48] *Porro cum ab eo tempore, quo Carmeliticam eremum visitavit Ioannes Phocæ, ibique Bertholdum cum sociis reperit, usque ad tempus datæ Regulæ, anni, ut infra docebimus, circiter XXIV effluxerint, credibile est, ad primum Carmelitarum denarium factam esse intra istud spatium acceßionem aliquam, non tamen tantam, quin adhuc omnes facile intra septum a Bertholdo extructum continerentur, & commune oratorium iis sufficeret. Neque hic mihi quispiam objicienda putet tria illa monasteria, de quibus Guntherus, monachus in Cisterciensi diœcesis Bæsileensis cœnobio, Parisius dicto, dum Bernherum quemdam virum in Hierosolymitano Regno potentem ac nobilem, Martino Parisiensi Abbati, istuc sub annum MCCIV appulso, loquentem inducit. Volebat is dicto Abbati suadere, ut deposito redeundi in Teutoniam consilio, istic maneret, offerens illi a Rege Episcopatum aliamve ecclesiasticam dignitatem; vel, si secretiorem & monasticæ professioni magis congruam vellet agere vitam, hoc quoque ipse plenissime provideret. Est enim, inquit, in partibus illis territorium, quod tam moderno usu quam apud veteres scripturas mons Carmeli nominatur, locus omnibus bonis uberrimus, fertilis frugum, vestitus optime vinetis, oleis & aliis arborum generibus eleganter consitus, pascuis etiam copiosis exuberans. In hoc monte sunt tria monachorum cœnobia, distincta ab invicem, & latas possessiones habentia, quibus cœnobiis vel singulis uteretur, vel in unum redactis ipse Abbas & Dominus præsideret. At vero, si mallet sui Ordinis Fratribus quam aliis præesse, cœnobitæ illi ad alia loca satis commode transferrentur: Abbas vero, assumptis sui Ordinis hominibus, quibus vellet & quanto vellet numero, totum præfati montis territorium, tam ipse quam sui successores, perpetua ditione tenerent. Ita Guntherus, Tomo 5 antiquarum Lectionum Canisii, ex ore illius sui tum viventis Abbatis: quem qui de eremitis ad fontem Eliæ commorantibus eorumve sequacibus intelligendum putaret, aut etiam de monachis Syris Græcisve, judicio meo nimium aberraret. Nam primum Latinos fuisse, quorum convictus & prælatura Martino, Græcæ Syriacæque linguæ ignorantißimo, offerebatur, extra controversiam videtur poni debere: tum monachos, non eremitas, & quidem latis posseßionibus ditatos, quod erat a proposito Carmelitarum alienißimum, ac verosimiliter Benedictinos, omnino verba ipsa indicant.*

Pairis. Offering to that one an Episcopacy or another ecclesiastical dignity, he wanted to persuade the said Abbot that, having laid aside the counsel of returning to Germany, he would remain there 'or, if he wanted to live a life more fitting to the more secret and monastic profession, he himself would also provide for this most fully. For there is', he says,

> a territory in those parts that, in both ancient writings and modern usage is named Mount Carmel, a place most richly abounding in all good things, fertile in crops, well covered with vineyards, elegantly planted with palms and other kinds of trees, abundant also with rich pastures. On this mountain there are three monasteries of monks, distinct one from another and owning extensive lands that the monasteries make use of either singly or that the Abbot and Lord himself will preside over, the lands having become the common property of all three monasteries. But, indeed, if he chooses to preside only over the Brothers of his Order rather than over others, those other monks are transferred to another suitable place. The Abbot, however, having been accepted by the men of his Order, by those he determined and by the number that he determined, both he and his successors hold perpetual authority over the whole territory of the said mountain.

Thus Gunther, in tome five of the ancient Readings of Canisius,[29] from the mouth of that one, his then living Abbot, whom, the one who might think that it was to be understood as concerning the hermits at the spring of Elijah or their followers, or even yet concerning Syriac or Greek monks, he would not be going too far astray, in my judgement. For it is seen as needing to be placed beyond controversy that, to Martin, most ignorant of the Greek and Syriac language, the Latins had been the first of those whose living together and prelature was offered. Altogether, those words indicate that the Latins[30] were monks, not hermits, and, indeed, with extensive possessions spread abroad in those times, and very likely Benedictines, something that was most alien to the intended manner of life of the Carmelites.

49.[31] We understand, moreover, that the place inhabited by Elijah being held by those I have called the Carmelites themselves, for whom,

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[29] See Jacques Basnage de Beauval, ed. *Thesaurus monumentorum ecclesiasticorum et historicorum sive Henrici Canisii lectiones antiquae*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam: apud Rudophum & Gerhardum Wetstenios, 1725), 4:xix.

[30] This refers, it would seem, to the presumed to be Latin-rite 'Brothers' mentioned in the quotation from Gunther.

[31] [49] *Ipsis porro, quos dixi, Carmelitis, locum ab Elia habitatum tenentibus, quos*

alone, by the name of the Carmelites, although then not yet adopted, Albert dictated the Rule so that, if either migrating of their own accord or having been expelled by an alien violence, they were to propose for themselves another place than on Carmel needing to be inhabited, it could, nevertheless, be put to use. Up until the description of the Rule, we are not able to know many things concerning the circumstances of the said Order either drawing something out of those words[32] or from the testimonies of the appropriate authority. Whatever things are narrated by de Lezana and by others from those diverse or more celebrated authorities have all been taken either out of the authors following untrustworthy little narratives or out of two falsely attributed writings: deceitfully presenting, firstly, the superscription of John the 44th Patriarch of Jerusalem, secondly, the name of Cyril the third Prior. Some, moreover, anxiously ask from where Albert will have received that Rule. And some, indeed, want that it was taken from the monastic Statutes of Basil, others from the already mentioned book of John, or even from both, as if it were partly a compendium, partly a supplement. Both contain various prescriptions suitable for monks or also for hermits and for those professing servitude to God. But there is no major reason why Albert is thought to have had before his eyes those things belonging to the legislator[33] of some other religious Order. Nevertheless, himself

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solos Carmelitarum nomine, licet tunc necdum usurpato, intelligimus; Regulam sic dictavit Albertus, ut si vel sua sponte migrantes, vel aliena violentia expulsi, alium sibi locum habitandum proponerent, nihilo minus quam in Carmelo usui esse posset. Nec plura de statu dicti Ordinis, usque ad Regulæ descriptionem, vel ex hujus verbis elicere, vel ex idoneæ auctoritatis testimoniis scire possumus. Quæcumque ab his diversa aut illustriora narrantur a Lezana & aliis, sumpta sunt omnia aut ex auctoribus vacillantes narratiunculas secutis, aut ex duobus pseudepigraphis scriptis: primo titulum Ioannis XLIV Hierosolymitani Patriarchæ, secundo Cyrilli Prioris III nomen falso præferentibus. Quærunt porro nonnulli solicite, unde eam Regulam acceperit Albertus: & alii quidem ex Basilii Statutis monasticis, alii ex præmemorato Ioannis libro, aut etiam ex utrisque, sumptam volunt, tamquam eorumdem partim compendium partim supplementum. Continent utraque præceptiones varias, monachis aut etiam eremitis & Dei famulatum profitentibus idoneas: sed nulla major est causa cur has præ oculis putetur habuisse Albertus, quam alterius cujuscumque Ordinis religiosi legislator. Scripsit autem ea brevitate, tamque conformiter ei modo vivendi, quem ipse Italus in Italia viderat ab Eremitis Camaldulensibus servari, ut propria experientia satis ei esse potuerit ad pauca ista proponenda. Ideo mihi videntur Legislatori suo esse injurii, qui tam pauca tamque obvia putant ab eo præcipi non potuisse absque luce aliunde accepta. Ad hæc articulus XII ac XIII ejusmodi sunt, ut si aliquem asceticorum scriptorum præ oculis habuisset Albertus, eos inde potius integros transcripturus fuerit, quam novos compositurus. Dico novos: nam quod ab eo attingantur Scripturæ eædem, quæ alibi quoque leguntur, ipso argumento easdem suggerente; non facit ut non poßit credi vir sanctus eas accepisse immediate ex ipsis sacris libris, absque ullo respectu ad alium qui fuerit eisdem usus.

[32] This refers, presumably, to the quotation from Gunther in the previous paragraph.

[33] This refers, presumably, to St Basil.

being Italian, he wrote those things with brevity and in a way that, for him, was conformable to the manner of living that he had seen being preserved by the Camaldolese Hermits so that his own experience was sufficient for him to have been capable of those few things needing to be proposed. Those who think that so few and such obvious things could not have been prescribed by him without having received them from the light of another source seem to me, therefore, to be unjust to their Legislator.[34] Concerning those things, articles 12 and 13[35] are of such a kind that, if Albert had had before his eyes one or other of the writings of the ascetics, he would rather have transcribed them integrally from that place than composed them anew. I say anew, for, by suggesting the same writings by the same content, what of those same writings that were touched by him that are also read elsewhere does not bring it about that the holy man cannot be believed to have accepted them immediately out of those holy books, without any respect for the other use that there was for the same things.

50.[36] When, nevertheless, Albert is said to have followed Basil, something more tolerable is said than when [he is said to have followed] John

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[34] Albert is described as the 'Legislator of the Carmelite Order' in the title of the dossier.

[35] Corresponding to nn. 19 and 20 in the modern agreed system of numbering, these articles of the Albertine Rule are concerned with spiritual armour and with doing some work or other.

[36] [50] *Cum tamen Basilium secutus Albertus dicitur, tolerabilius dicitur aliquid, quam cum Ioannem Hierosolymitanum. Toti enim ecclesiæ, non tantum Orientali sed & Occidentali, nota erat Regula S. Basilii, ex quo eam Rufinus Presbyter Aquileiensis, S. Hieronymi æqualis, rogatu Vrseji Abbatis fecit Latinam, quomodo eam ex vetustißimo Sanmaximinianensi prope Treviros Codice transcriptam accepit & cum aliis monasticis Regulis imprimendam curavit Lucas Holstenius tom. 1 Codicis Regularum. At istum Ioanni Hierosolymitano imputatum librum fuisse in rerum natura, cum Regulam suam dictaret Albertus, necdum idoneo ullo auctore cognovimus. Et tamen antique in nostro hoc Occidente monachi (ut de orientalibus nihil dicam) curiosi fuerunt, ut varias a variis scriptas Regulas cognoscerent conferrentque inter se, non tantum Occidentalium, set etiam Orientalium Patrum; imo nulla videtur in Oriente celebris fuisse Regula, quae non etiam in Occidente suos habuerit sectatores professoresque, priusquam omnia monasteria Europaea Latini ritus, paulatim concederent in Benedictinam. Colligitur id ex Concordia Regularum, quam S. Benedictus Anianae Abbas tempore Ludovici Pii conscripsit, ostendens quantam omnes habeant cum Benedictina Regula conformitatem. Extat ea parisiis edita anno 1638, & notis illustrata ab Hugone Maynardo: in qua cum Benedictina nominatim comparantur ex Orientalibus Regula S Pachomii, S. Orsiesii, S. Macarii duples, triplex sub nomini Patrum, una anonyma sub titolo Orientalis, ac denique S. Basilii. In codice vero Regularum, quem Holsteinium dixi vulgavisse, praetor jam nominates, inventa sunt etiam Regula S. Antonii Abbatis, S. Isaiae Abbatis, liber S. Athanasii Episcopi Alexandriae de observationibus monachorum, Euagrii monachi sententiae ad monachos, ejusdemque sententiae ad Virgines. Sed nulla uspiam Ioannis Hierosolymitani mentio. Et adhuc durum videbitur alicui, quod audeat quis contradicere asserentibus librum ab eo scriptum fuisse, qui plurimis in Carmelo*

of Jerusalem. For the Rule of St Basil was known to all the churches, not only the Eastern but also the Western, from which Rufinus, the Presbyter of Aquileia, the equal of St Jerome, at the request of Abbot Ursejus, made it Latin, in that manner he received it transcribed from the most ancient Codex of the church of St Maximilian near Treves,[37] and, together with the other monastic Rules of Lucas Holste took care to have it published in tome 1 of the Codex of Rules.[38] But, in the nature of things, when Albert dictated his Rule, that book of John of Jerusalem was not yet attributed to any suitable author we have known. And, nevertheless, the ancient monks in this our West (as I will say nothing concerning the Easterns) were attentive so that various Rules written by various individuals, not only of the Western but also of the Eastern Fathers, were known and contributed between one another. In reality no Rule is seen to have been celebrated in the East from which it will not also have had its followers and those who professed it in the West. First, all the European monasteries of Latin rite passed little by little into the Benedictine [Rule]. This is gathered from the *Concordia Regularum*, which St Benedict, the Abbot of Aniane, wrote at the time of Louis the Pious, showing how much they all had in conformity with the Benedictine Rule. It is extant, edited in Paris in the year 1638 and illustrated with notes from Nicolas-Hugues Ménard,[39] in which, by name, the Eastern 'Rule of St Pachomius, of St Orsisius, of St Macarius' under the double, triple name of 'Fathers', an anonymous [rule] under the title 'Eastern', and, finally, 'of St Basil' are compared with the Benedictine

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& reliqua Syria monasteriis per plura consequenter secula pro Regula fuerit? Aut stramineum dicitur argumentum, ab auctoritate negate petitum, quando tacent ii, qui ex professo collegerunt quotquot nancisci potuere scriptas Regulas? Scriptas dico, ne quis obiiciat alias, quarum forte mentio uspiam fit, & tamen absunt a Collectionibus praedictis. Iuvat porro audire de eo libro, quo tantopere sese jactant multi, quis sit sensus virorum, in discernendis germanis spuriisque libris versatißimorum: quod dum facio, liceat usurpare Wastelii, totis duobus libris, pro manutenenda operis istius veritate, contra Paulum Sherlogum pugnantis, hæc verba. Certamen litterarium est: nemo offendatur: quod etsi etiam pugnam vocamus, non lædet ea caritatem. Et Virginem & Ordinem ejus sincere amant etiam ii, qui circa hujus originem & illius cultum in Carmelo aliter sentiunt, quam ex illo dubiæ auctoritatis libro docentur. Inter hos, quia tempore ultimus, & post multam utrimque disputationem de totius quæstionis statu informatißimus, Philippus Labbe, merito primus nominabitur. Hic in opere de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis anni 1660 pag. 584, ita loquitur de eo qui ad Caprasium scriptus dicitur a Ioanne XLIV. Hunc librum a posteriore aliquo scriptore, eoque Latino, fuisse Joanni Hierosolymitano suppositum, eruditissimi & acutissimi viri censuerunt, Baronius, Bellarminus, Theophilus Raynaudus, & alii.

[37] See Lucas Holste and Marianus Brockie, *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum, cum add. P. Mariani Brockie*, 3 vols. (Graz [Augsburg]: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1957 [1759]), 1:97.

[38] See ibid., 1:98-160.

[39] See Nicolas-Hugues Ménard, ed. *Concordia regularum auctore S. Benedicto Anianae Abbate* (Paris: Apud Dionysium Bechet, 1638).

[Rule]. In the codex of Rules that I have said Holste published,[40] in addition to those already named, are found also the rule 'of St Anthony Abbot, of St Isaiah Abbot, the book of St Athanasius the Bishop of Alexandria, On the Observances of Monks, of the Judgements Concerning Monks of Evagrius the monk, and of the Judgments Concerning Virgins of the same one.' But there is no mention anywhere of John of Jerusalem. And until now will it be seen to be difficult for anyone that somebody would dare to contradict those asserting that the book had been written by him, those who were [living] in an appropriate manner on account of the Rule in the very many monasteries on Carmel and in the rest of Syria throughout many centuries? Or is not an argument said to be of straw, denied by the authority of the experts, when those are silent who, thanks to their expertise, can collect however many written Rules? I say 'written' lest anyone at another time would object, and would, nevertheless, perhaps, make mention somewhere of those Rules that are absent from the said Collections. Moreover, it would help to hear concerning that book, something many of the same flourish with so much labour, what would be the observation of the men who are most versed in distinguishing the genuine books from the spurious.[41] While I do that thing, it might be allowed, on account of maintaining the integrity of that work, that I make use of two whole books of Wasteels fighting against Paul Sherlock in these words: 'It is the contest of an elementary teacher: nobody should be offended. Although we even yet call it a battle, it does not injure charity.'[42] And even yet those who perceive things differently than are taught from that book of dubious authority[43] concerning its origin and the cult of that one[44] on Carmel sincerely love both the Virgin and their Order.[45] Because, among them,[46] after much dispute on both sides in the most remote time, and most informed concerning the state of the whole question, Philippe Labbé will justly be named the first. This one in the work concerning the Ecclesiasti-

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[40] See Holste and Brockie, *Codex regularum*.

[41] On the substitution of the section beginning 'Et tamen antiqui' and ending 'spuriisque libris versatißimam' for a different version of the final sentence in the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):909-910.

[42] See Peter Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita* (Brussels: Mommart, 1643), 2:5.

[43] This refers to the work by Philip Ribot mentioned above.

[44] This refers, presumably, to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

[45] Although 'their Order' could be read in either sense, it seems likely that the author is using it here to refer to the Carmelite Order rather than to the Jesuits.

[46] This refers, presumably, to those who sincerely love both the Virgin and their Order

cal Writers of the year 1660, page 584, speaks thus concerning that which is said to have been written by John the 44th to Caprasius.[47]

> The most learned and intelligent men, Baronius, Bellarmine, Théophile Raynaud, and others, were of the opinion that this book, supposed to be by John of Jerusalem, was by some later writer, and he also writing in Latin.[48]

51.[49] I will not bring forth the words of Baronius [50] because we certainly did that once, when it almost brought about the foremost ill-will towards this our work,[51] the question being asked, concerning Bl. Berthold, to which time he was to be attributed.[52] Let us hear Bellarmine:

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[47] The first of the *Ten Books* of Philip Ribot, the Institute of the First Monks, is addressed to Caprasius.

[48] See Philippe Labbé SJ, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, quos attigit Card: Robertus Bellarminus, philologica et historica dissertatio... duobis tomis*, 2 vols. (Paris: Apud Sebastianum Cramoisy, 1660), 1:584.

[49] [51] *Baronii verba non proferam, quoniam id vel semel fecisse, cum de B. Bertholdo quæreretur cui tempori esset attribuendus, capitalem pene huic nostro operi conflavit invidiam. Bellarminum audiamus: Tribuitur, inquit, Joanni liber ad Caprasium de institutione monachi: sed hic liber videtur scriptus ab aliquo longe posteriori: siquidem in eo libro dicit auctor se esse Ordinis Carmelitarum, & describit habitum Carmelitarum. At illis temporibus nomen Carmelitarum Religiosorum erat plane inauditum... Adde quod stylus est hominis Latini & temporum posteriorum. Sed quia liber ad Caprasium paßim inscribitur de institutione, non monachi, sed monachorum; hunc calami seu memoriæ lapsum sufficere Wastelius credidit, ut certum esset, quod Bellarminus ipse suis oculis librum Joannis non viderit sive legerit, & bona solum fide imitatus sit Joannem Brasichellensem. Eodem argumento probari posset, nec hunc quidem a Bellarmino esse lectum; cum titulum libri non exprimat Brasichellensis, solum Ioannem Hierosolymitanum nominans, librum vero ei attributum notum esse supponens ex Bibliotheca Patrum Parisiensi anni 1589, quam totis duodecim annis ad manus Bellarmini non pervenisse, qui jam Cardinalis erat, & suum de Scriptoribus ecclesiasticis librum moliebatur, quis credat? Quid autem Brasichellensis? Erat ipse cum anno 1607 Indicem librorum expurgandorum impreßit Romæ, Sacri palatii Magister, singulosque a se notates recognoverat ex officio, eodem mox anno factus Episcopus Polymnianensis in Apulia. Hic cum protulisset argumenta, quæ genuinum esse opus in ambiguo ponant; tandem sic concludit: liber ipse fide vacillare deprehenditur, cum multa de monachis Carmelitis, primis Ecclesiæ temporibus jam vigentibus, prodat. Denique stylus ipse totus Latinus, multaque sine majorum auctoritate & fide ambigua huic operi inserta, satis arguunt alium auctorem quam Joannem, & quidem recentiorem. Huic gravißimo judicio frustra Wastelius objicit ipsius Indicis suspensionem aliquam, Guidoni Archiepiscopo Rhodiensi & per Belgium Nuntio Apostolico indicatam anno 1612; quandoquidem ea nec progressum sciatur habuisse; nec probetur facta esse ad justificationem librorum istic notatorum, cum aliis multis de causis suspendi liber potuerit; nec denique efficiat quo minus ista fuerit sententia Brasichellensis, esto Ecclesia universalis eam facere suam noluerit.*

[50] See Caesar Baronius, ed. *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198... tomus septimus* (Lucca: Typae Leonardi Venturini, 1741), 7:569.

[51] The work in question was the writing of the *Acta Sanctorum* for June.

[52] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 8 (Mar III):791-792.

'The book to Caprasius concerning the institution of the monk is attributed to John', he says,

> but this book is seen to have been written by someone a long time afterwards since, indeed, in that book the author says that he is of the Order of Carmelites and he describes the habit of the Carmelites. But in those times the name of the Carmelite Religious was clearly something never heard ... Add to this that the style is of a Latin person and of later times.[53]

But because the book to Caprasius is inscribed throughout 'concerning the institution' not 'of the monk' but 'of the monks', this lapse of the pen or of the memory was sufficient, Wasteels believed, for it to be 'certain' that Bellarmine

> had not himself seen or read the book of John with his own eyes ... and that in good faith only was he copying ... the John of de Brasichella.[54]

Who would believe that, by the same argument, it could be proved that Wasteels, indeed, had not been read by Bellarmine, since de Brasichella does not express the title of the book, only naming John of Jerusalem,[55] supposing, certainly, that the book that was known to be attributed to him was from the *Bibliotheca Patrum* of Paris in the year 1589,[56] which for twelve whole years did not come into the hand of Bellarmine, who was already a Cardinal, and who was working on his book concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers?[57] What, however, of de Brasichella? Since it was he, the Master of the Sacred Palace, who printed the Index of books needing to be cleared of censure in Rome in the year 1607[58] and who, from his office, recognised the individual books having been marked by him, soon having been made Bishop of Polignano a Mare in Apulia in the same year. Since, in this place, he had brought forth 'argu-

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[53] See Robert Bellarmine SJ, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis* (Rome: Ex typografia Bartholomeus Zannetti, 1613), 95.

[54] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:69.

[55] See Giovanni Maria de Guanzellis Brasichella OP, *Indicis librorum expurgandorum in studiosorum gratiam confecti Tomus I., in quo 50 auctorum libri præ cæteris desiderati emendantur, per F. Jo. Mariam Brasichell., Sacri Palatii Apostol. Magistrum in vnum corpus redacti, & pub. commoditati aeditus* (Rome - Bergamo: Typis Comini Ventura, 1608), 257.

[56] See Marguarin de la Bigne, ed. *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1598), 9:1241.

[57] Bellarmine SJ, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*.

[58] See de Guanzellis Brasichella OP, *Indicis librorum expurgandorum*.

ments, which put the work being genuine into ambiguity'. At length he concluded:

> By being trustworthy, he himself perceives that the book is untrustworthy, since he puts forth many things concerning the Carmelite monks, already flourishing in the first periods of the Church. And thereafter, the style itself is totally Latin, and the many things having been inserted into this work without the authority of the great ones and with ambiguous trustworthiness prove sufficiently that the author was another, and, indeed, more recent than John.[59]

To this most weighty judgment Wasteels[60] in vain interposes some suspension of the same Index by Archbishop Guido of Rhodes and Apostolic Nuntio throughout Belgium[61] by means of something made known in the year 1612. Seeing that it is not known that those things had made progress, nor is it proved that it was done for the justification of the books marked on this occasion, since many other things could be done concerning the causes of suspending the book, nor, finally, that that was not the opinion of Brasichella, let it be the universal Church that has refused to make it its own.

52.[62] Théophile Raynaud, in the tract concerning authentic and inauthentic books, part one, rhetorical question 10, has that thing:

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[59] See ibid., 257.

[60] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:73.

[61] Born in 1579, Guido Bentivoglio d'Aragona (1579-1644) was an Italian who was consecrated Titular Archbishop of Rhodes in 1607, Apostolic Nuncio to France in 1616 and Cardinal-Presbyter of *S. Giovanni a Porta Latina* in 1621. Contrary to what Papenbroeck reports, he was not an Apostolic Nuncio in 1612.

[62] [52] *Theophilus Rainaudus, in tractatu de justa & injusta confixione librorum Parte 1 Erotemate 10, ista habet: Eidem Joanni Hierosolymitano Episcopo XLIV suppositus est liber de institutione monachi ad Caprasium. Pugnat latissime pro eo libro adscribendo huic Joanni auctor Paradisi Carmelitarum, & Michael Muños libro 2 Propugnaculi Eliæ, ac Petrus Wastelius lib. 1 Vindiciarum: quo non nemo refert, quod Gennadius scripsit exscripsitque Honorius Augustodunensis, scriptum scilicet ab hoc Joanne esse contra obtrectatores studii sui: id quippe dictum putat de laude religiosi instituti, quod inter Carmelitanos professus erat, in quorum laudes eo Commentario effunditur. Mihi neque hic Joannes æqualis S. Hieronymi, neque ullus Græcorum veterum libri istius auctor esse videtur: stylus enim clamat auctorem esse Latinum, nec adeo antiquum ut S. Hieronymi coævus dici possit. Sed idem circa hunc librum asserendum Joanni apud scriptores Carmelitas obtigisse videtur, quod apud Augustinianos circa Sermones in eremo, quos unanimiter Fratres Eremitæ S. Augustino adscribunt, sicut unanimiter Fratres Carmelitæ tribuunt prædicto Joanni, plaudente extra utrorumque cœtum nemine, qui scilicet examinandos sibi illos assumpserit; alioqui non desunt illustres scriptores, interque eos Salianus, Sanctius, Salazarius, Bonartius, Ioannes Bonifacius, Cornelius a Lapide, aliique, omnes Societatis nostræ homines, qui nullam hic fraudem suspicati,*

> The book concerning the institution of the monk to Caprasius was put under the same John of Jerusalem, the 44th Bishop. The author of the *Paradisus Carmelitici*,[63] and Miguel Muños in book two of the *Propugnaculum Eliae*[64] and Peter Wasteels in book one of the *Vindiciarum*[65] fought most widely on account of that book needing to be ascribed to this John. Some report that Gennadius certainly wrote that it was written by this John against 'the objectors to his study',[66] and Honorius of Autun copied him.[67] This saying, obviously concerning the praise of the religious institute, is reckoned as meaning that John made profession among the Carmelites, in whose praises it is poured forth in that Commentary. This John, the author of that book, does not seem to me to be the equal of St Jerome or of any of the old Greeks, for the style proclaims the author to be a Latin, nor can it be said that he was so old as to be a contemporary of St Jerome. But, concerning this book, among the Carmelite writers, the same needing to be declared seems to have fallen to the lot of John that is found among the Augustinians concerning the Sermons in the desert, which, unanimously, the Brother Hermits ascribe to St Augustine, and just as, by applauding nobody outside of either group, the Carmelite Brothers unanimously assign [it] to the said John.[68]

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in bona Carmelitarum fide usi sunt testimoniis petitis ex illo libro, tamquam vere per Ioannem compositio; quod majori cum cautela facturos fuisse credo, si eum habuissent usum dignoscendorum auctorum veterum, quem habuit P. Theophilus Raynaudus: quem vel ideo allego libentius, quod notum sit omnibus, quantum ipse Carmelitico Ordini semper faverit, & quam magnifice de eo vicißim sentiat Ordo; a quo proinde merito poscitur, ut credat, non fuisse eum collectam pridem gratiam expositurum periculo, sic sentiendo scribendoque in hac parte, uti sensit & scripsit, nisi ad hoc eum coëgisset evidentia compertæ certißimo veritatis.

[63] See Alegre de Casanate, *Paradisus Carmelitici decoris*, 576-577.

[64] See Miguel Muñoz O.Carm., *Propugnaculum Eliae, et propaginis Carmeliticae. Cuius occasione argumentj natura, origo, et prothoparentes vindicantur monastices. Atque ad concionatorum vota scripturæ monumentis, ac lucubrationibus patrum illustrantur selectis... Opere R.P.F. Michaelis Muñoz Bætici Cordubensis, Carmelitæ* (Rome: typis Ludouici Grignani, 1636), 291.

[65] See Peter Wasteels O.Carm., *Apologeticum pro Johannis Jerosolymitani Monachismo in Carmelo; et pro libro eiusdem de institutione primorum monachorum, in Lege Veteri exhortorum et in Nova perseverantium* (Brussels: Mommart, 1611), 52-59.

[66] Johann Alexander Brassicanus, ed. *Salvian of Marseilles: De vero Iudicio & providentia Dei ad S. Salonium episcopum Vienensem libri VIII* (Rouen: apud Ioannem Osmont, 1627), 73 (XXXI).

[67] See Honorius of Autun, "De luminaribus ecclesiae sive de scriptoribus libri IV, cum scholis," in *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica sive Nomemclatores VIII. Veterum*, ed. Aubert Le Mire (Antwerp: Apud Jacobum Mesium, 1639), 107-130: 118.

[68] See Théophile Raynaud SJ, *Erotemata de malis ac bonis libris, deque justa aut injusta eorumdem confixione, cum indicibus necessariis* (Lyons: typ. Jean-Antoine Huguetan & Marc Antoine Ravaud, 1653), 144 (1:10).deque justa aut injusta eorumdem confixione, cum indicibus necessariis</style> (Lyons: typ. Jean-Antoine Huguetan & Marc An-

Certainly, he will have taken to himself those things as needing to be examined. Illustrious writers are otherwise not wanting and Salian, Sanchez, de Salazar, Boonaert, Juan Bonifacio, Cornelius a Lapide, and others, all men of our Society of Jesus, are among them. Suspected of no fraud here, they used to be asked in good faith by the Carmelites for testimonies from that book as if it were truly composed by means of John. I believe that, if they had that practice of distinguishing ancient authors that Fr. Théophile Raynaud had, it will have been done with great caution. On that account, I freely allege that it would either be known to all how much he would always have been well disposed to the Carmelite Order and how eminently the Order felt the same way concerning him. Deservedly, then, it was requested from him that, as he might believe, the begged-for thanks was not about to expose him to danger unless the evidence of the ascertained truth would most certainly have compelled him to that thing by thus feeling and writing in this manner as he felt and wrote not long since.

53.[69] François de Bivar composed six books concerning the old monasticism after the *Vindiciarum*[70] of Wasteels had long since seen the light and, reluctantly agreeing with the judgement concerning the disputed book in the last chapter of book one, 'I have become persuaded',

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toine Ravaud, 1653

[69] [53] *Franciscus Bivarius de veteri monachatu libros sex composuit, postquam Wastelianæ vindiciæ pridem lucem vidissent, & lib. 1 cap. ult. ad dicendam de libro controverso sententiam invitus accedens, persuasum, inquit, habeo, minime Joannis illius opus esse, sed auctoris multo recentioris. Tum hujus suæ persuasionis rationes adducit efficaciſſimas, ac denique censet parum pro Dei genitricis dignitate reverenter, & minus vere dici cap. 34, quod Professores Religionis hujus Carmelitanæ docti fuerunt a summo templi Pontifice, quod beata Maria virginitatem Deo servare proposuerat ad exemplum Eliæ; & quod ideo Religiosi Carmelitæ Virginem Mariam, jam tempore Apostolorum, dicebant sororem suam: & propter conformitatem spontaneæ virginitatis inter Dei genitricem & religiosos Carmelitas, seipsos Fratres beatæ Mariæ Virginis appellabant. Torquet se in omnem partem Wastelius (seu potius Wastelii auxiliator aliquis, linguæ Græcæ scientiam majorem quam haberet promittens, cujus verbis Wastelius usus) ut ostendat vere Græcum hominem libri auctorem fuisse: sed iis argumentis, quæ si retorquere quis velit, fortaſis probabilius faceret, ipsum Francum aut Flandrum fuisse, ex idiotismis & solœcismis, quos Vindex pro Hellenismis obtrudit. Infra num. 136 dabo specimina auctoris linguæ Græcæ æque imperiti quam fuit S. Thomas Aquinas, ex cujus Commentario super cap. 11 Epist. ad Hebræos ille verbotenus desumpsit, ridiculam quidem, sed tamen Sancti Doctoris ætati indulgendam etymologiam Melotæ. O quam multa hujusmodi plagia, hominis neminem citantis proditura suppositionem, possent in illo libro inveniri, si cui esset otium animusque ad ingentem laborem pro re nihili suscipiendum!*

[70] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Apologeticum pro Johannis Jerosolymitani Monachismo in Carmelo; et pro libro eiusdem de institutione primorum monachorum, in Lege Veteri exhortorum et in Nova perseverantium.*

he says, 'that it is not all the work of that John but of a much more recent author.'[71] At that time he drew in most efficacious reasons for his persuasion and, finally, he respectfully assessed it to be little in favour of the dignity of the mother of God, and, truly less, it is stated in chapter 34 that 'Those who profess this' Carmelite

> Religion had been taught by the supreme Pontiff of the temple that, following the example of Elijah, the blessed Mary had proposed to serve God with virginity; and that
>
> for that reason
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> the Carmelite Religious already called the Virgin Mary their sister in the time of the Apostles and, on account of the conformity of spontaneous virginity between the mother of God and the Carmelite Religious, they called themselves the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary[72]

Wasteels (or, rather, some helper of Wasteels, promising a greater knowledge of the Greek language than he had, whose words Wasteels uses) twists himself on every side so that he might truly show that a Greek person was the author of the book. But, out of the vulgar manner of speaking and the grammatical faults in the construction of sentences that, on account of Hellenisms,[73] the Vindicator[74] forces upon one, from these arguments, which if someone wanted to, he or she could, perhaps, more probably twist in the opposite direction, the same was a Frenchman or from Flanders. Below, in number 136, I will give examples of the Greek language and of the lack of skill of the author that was St Thomas Aquinas, from whose Commentary on chapter 11 of the Letter to the Hebrews[75] Wasteels nominally selected that thing, a ridiculous thing indeed, but, nevertheless, a study of the origin of the word *Melota* of the age of

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[71] See François de Bivar OCist, *De veteri monachatu, et regulis monasticis, libri VI* (Lyon: Sumptib. Philippi Borde, & Laur. Arnaud, 1662), 66.

[72] See ibid., 67.

[73] This term probably refers to unsuccessful attempts to mimic the style of Greek used in the classical period.

[74] This refers to Wasteels, the author of the *Vindications*.

[75] Aquinas interprets the mention of Gideon in Hebrews 11:32 in the light of the account of Gideon seeking the sign of dew on a fleece in Judges 6:37, with the reference to rain coming on the fleece in Ps 71:6, see Vincentio Justiniano and Thomas Manrique, eds., *Divi Thomae Aquinatis Doctoris angelici Opera omnia, gratiis privilegiisque Pii V typis* (Rome: apud haeredes A. Bladii et J. O. Liliotum socios (apud J. Accoltum), 1570), 15:228.

the Holy Doctor[76] that needs to be indulged.[77] O how many kidnappings of this kind, about to substitute nobody for another by citing people, can be found in that book, that, for him, there might be leisure and fantasy for undertaking a great work on account of a thing that is nothing!

54.[78] Why would anyone want to do this, however, when understanding him or herself to be enclosed in error by determined things? Having nominally some things from Jerome or Ambrose, those setting themselves in opposition even reply together with Wasteels that those things are the falsifications of Philip Ribot who, as was convenient for himself, minutely tore up the book of John into little bits and brought

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[76] In other words, St Thomas Aquinas.

[77] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:64.

[78] [54] *Cur autem id facere velit aliquis, cum obstinatis frustra se acturum intelligens? Respondebunt enim cum Wastelio, nonnulla ex Hieronymo & Ambrosio verbotenus accepta sibimet objicienti, has esse interpolationes Philippi Riboti, qui librum Ioannis, ut commodum sibi erat, minutim distraxerit in particulas, & quæ idonea judicabat adjecerit. Simili confidentia idem Wastelius negat aliquod Latini auctoris argumentum esse, quod omnia aut pleraque Scripturæ loca, non juxta lectionem LXX Interpretum, sed juxta vulgatam versionem proferantur. Non occupati præjudiciis suis sciunt quantum ista valeant, maxime quando alia quoque plura accedunt, quæ si non singula, simul tamen conjuncta omnia, plenam conficiunt novitatis evictionem. Ceterum cum liber prædictus extet Gallice manuscriptus in conventu Carmelitanarum Namurci, cumque ipse Wastelius statim in principio variarum lectionum ingenue agnoscat, non esse dissimile veri, quod Græcus quispiam, Gallice melius peritus quam Latine, librum verterit in sermonem Gallicum, & alius inde in Latinum; haud sane dißimile veri videbitur alteri, auctorem primum vere Francum aut Walonem fuisse: ejusmodi autem conjecturam confirmarent magnifica illa cognomenta Nepotis Sylvani, quæ Ioanni Hierosolymitano, nemine antiquorum, quod sciam, præeunte, idem Wastelius appingit. Nam per quæ ipse eum Atavis Romanis nobilibus editum comminiscitur; eadem alius, felicior forsitan conjectator, in rem suam trahet, dicetque verum auctoris nomen cognomen & agnomen fuisse Jean Neuveu du Bois, sic dicti ab uno ex variis oppidis villisque, Bois nominatis: quæ omnia Latine verterit aliquis; alii solo nomine contenti fuerint, ut eum facerent videri Hierosolymitanum Ioannem quem Sanctum in Actis inventionis S. Stephani videbant nominatum, communi scilicet Episcoporum omnium titulo; & ignorabant in fide suspectum atque Origenianæ hæresis infamatum haberi. Vnum est quod auctori isti certo credere possumus, Carmelitam fuisse, ut ipse præ se fert: indeque minus mirandum erit, quod scriptor, Albertinæ Regulæ ruminandæ assuetus, de spirituali pugna, de castitate, de silentio, de obedientia loquens, eadem quæ ibi attinguntur Scripturæ verba usurparit: imo etsi totos Regulæ textus suo libro admiscuisset, quod non fecit, haud magnopere moveremur. Nequeo interim animo capere, quomodo sibi persuadere poßit quispiam, ejusmodi librum, non tantum scriptum fuisse a Ioanne Hierosolymitano, sed etiam Carmelitis, id est, ut volunt ipsi, plerisque Palestinæ & Syriæ monachis aliisque ab ipsis toto Oriente deductis fuisse pro Regula, per annos septingentos eoque amplius; & simul credere, fieri potuisse, ut talis libri (cujus oportuisset tot sere exemplaria Græca extitisse quot monasteria aut cellas) nemo scriptorum anteriorum per tot secula meminerit, saltem in asceticis; & ejusdem nullum uspiam inveniatur residuum exemplar Græcum.*

into prominence those things that he was judging suitable.[79] With a similar confidence, Wasteels in the same place denies that there is any argument [in favour] of a Latin author, whereas either every or very many passages of Scripture are brought forth not according to the reading of the 70 interpreters[80] but according to the Vulgate version.[81] Not having attacked their prejudices, they know how much those things might be worth, especially when many other things are added also, things that, if they are not separate, are at once, nevertheless, all joined together, they bring about the full recovery of novelty. For the rest, since the said book[82] survives in a manuscript written in French in the convent of the Carmelites of Namur, and since, immediately at the beginning, the same Wasteels openly acknowledges various readings, it is not something unlike the true situation, that some Greek, expert in French rather than in Latin, turned the book 'into the French' language, and another 'from there into Latin'.[83] It will not be seen to be reasonably something unlike the other true situation that the first author was truly a Frenchman or a Waloon. Those magnificent surnames 'Nepos Sylvani' that were those of John of Jerusalem confirm a conjecture of that kind, however, that Wasteels has added, having none of the ancients as a precedent, as far as I know. For, by means of the same things that he brought forth, he would invent the same things 'from the noble Roman great-great-grandfathers'; perhaps, in his own affair, a soothsayer will draw them together more happily and will say that the true name, second name and surname was 'Jean Neuveu du Bois', of having been called thus by one out of the various towns and country-houses, namely 'Bois'. All the things that anyone will have turned into Latin, the others will have been striving for only by name so that they might make him to be perceived as the Saint John of Jerusalem whom they were seeing named by the common title of all the Bishops, of course, in the Acts of the Discovery of St Stephen[84] and they

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[79] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:95.

[80] This refers to the authors of the Greek Septuagint version of the Old Testament.

[81] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:29-35.

[82] This refers to the Institute of the First Monks, attributed to Bishop John of Jerusalem.

[83] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:69. The indication of quoted words by the omission of italics has been interpreted freely here, in accordance with the words that are actually quoted.

[84] The Acts of the Discovery of St Stephen refers to the Acts describing the discovery of the relics of St Stephen, which describe Bishop John of Jerusalem as being led by

were ignoring that, in the faith, the suspect and infamous heresy of the Origenists was being held.[85] One thing that we can certainly believe is that, to those authors, he had been a Carmelite as the same one makes known.[86] And from this is will be less strange that the writer, having been accustomed to the rumination of the Albertine Rule, speaking about the spiritual battle, about chastity, about silence, about obedience, would have used the same words of Scripture that appertain to that place. On the contrary, even if, in the book, he had mixed in all the texts of the Rule, which he did not do, we would not be greatly moved.[87] In the meantime, I am not able to grasp the mentality by which somebody might persuade himself that a book of this kind was not only written by John of Jerusalem but also by the Carmelites, that is, as the same would want. And, therefore, for more than seven hundred years, very many monks of Palestine and Syria and those others in the whole of the East having been drawn in on account of the Rule, and at the same time to believe it could have been done, as, for so many centuries, none of the ancient writers, as least among the ascetics, made mention of that book (so many of whose examples were needed of late for how many Greek monasteries or cells there were) and no remaining Greek example of the same is found anywhere.

55.[88] The greater part of the Wasteelsian *Vindications* and the strength of whatever other vindications there might be consists in a cer-

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a vision given to a certain Lucian (who is alleged to have written the Acts concerned) to discover the relics of the Saint. See Louis-Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont, ed. *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 2nd ed., 16 vols. (Paris: Charles Robustel, 1693-1712), 2:9-12.

[85] John, the 44th bishop of Jerusalem had been accused or Origenism.

[86] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:11.

[87] On the removal of the section beginning 'Nequeo interim animo' and ending 'residuum exemplar Græcum' from the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):910.

[88] [55] *Maximum Vindiciarum Wastelianarum & aliarum quarumcumque robur, consistit in Epistola quadam, producta sub nomine S. Cyrilli Prioris III, adeo ut non dubitent asseverare, omnes auctores præcitatos aliter sensuros fuisse de libro ad Caprasium, si istam Epistolam aliquando vidissent. Verum tantum abest ut epistola ista dimoveat me ab illorum fundatißima censura, ut in eadem confirmet quam maxime. Evidenter enim ipsa se probat scriptam esse, non a Cyrillo, qui optime norat quis & cujas fuerit Bertholdus, quo anno data sit Regula, quæ esset habitus Carmelitici forma, quo is nomine appellaretur &c. sed ab aliquo, qui hæc omnia ignorans, tunc scripsit, cum veteris habitus nomen & forma, non tantum ex usu, sed etiam ex memoria Carmelitarum exciderant prout inferius manifestißime demonstrabitur. Idem ignorans quod Aymericus Antiochenus fuerit, homo nullius litteraturæ (ut testatur coævus auctor Tyrius, l. 14 cap. 18) fingit, quod intelligens quosdam,*

tain Letter, brought out under the name of St Cyril, the third Prior. Thus far in order that all the already cited authors, if they will have seen that Letter at some time or other, would not doubt to affirm that they were about to feel otherwise concerning the book to Caprasius.[89] Such a reality is absent with the result that that letter might separate me from their most confirmed censure, as, in the same letter, it would confirm that reality to the greatest degree. For, evidently, the same would prove itself to have been written, not by Cyril, who will have been well-acquainted with who and whose Berthold was, in what year the Rule would have been given, which was the form of the Carmelite habit, by what name it was called etc., but by another who wrote at that time, not knowing that all these things, together with the name and form of the old habit, will have been lost, not only from usage, but also from the memory of the Carmelites, just as below will be demonstrated in a most clear manner. Wasteels, not knowing that Aimery the Antiochene was 'a person without literary gifts'[90] (as the contemporary author of Tyre testifies, 1.14[91] chapter 18) imagines that

> understanding that certain ones who had come over from the West, having been separately warned by their elders not to proceed directly towards the truth of the religious life of the Desert[92] described in the book of the said John, and, for that reason, weighing up most particularly how to take hold of this thing, because, not

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qui ab Occidente supervenerant, spretis seniorum monitis, non recte ambulare ad veritatem religiosæ vitæ eremiticæ, in prædicto Joannis libro descriptæ; & perpendens hoc ideo maxime contingere, quia Græcas litteras ignorantes nesciebant codicem illum legere, fecit illum librum de Græco in Latinum transferri. An etiam Græca omnia exemplaria aboleri? Certe nemo est qui uspiam ullum sibi visum dicat: nec puto unquam fuisse qui viderit. Hæc autem quomodo consistunt cum antiquiori & receptiori apud Carmelitas traditione, qua suos majores ante Albertum Basilianæ Regulæ professores fuisse aiebant; fortaßis non vere, sed aiebant tamen, quia Ioannem istum necdum noverant. Quomodo etiam homo nullius litteraturæ, eo tempore quo etiam litteratißimi Græcam linguam ignorabant, scivit Occidentales illos non vivere consorniter dicto libro, quem nemo adhuc Latinum fecerat: si tamen vel Latinam satis commode intelligebat Aymericus iste.

[89] Here Papenbroeck seems to be allowing for the theoretical possibility that the authors who have rejected the book attributed to John and addressed to Caprasius might have a different attitude towards the Letter of St Cyril.

[90] The version cited by Papenbroeck has 'nullius literaturae' even though the 1611 Bongars text has 'hominem absque literis', see Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 883 (2.15.18).

[91] Since the correct reference is 2.15, the 1.14 would seem to be a typographical error.

[92] Here, rather than being a second qualifying adjective for *vitae*, *eremiticae* would seem to be a singular noun in the genitive case.

knowing Greek letters they did not know how to read that codex, he made that book to be transferred from the Greek into Latin.[93]

Were all the Greek exemplars also to be destroyed? Certainly, there is nobody anywhere who would say any was seen by him nor, I think, was there ever anyone who will have seen it.[94] However, how these things stand together with the more ancient and more retiring tradition among the Carmelites, which their elder professors of the Basilian Rule before Albert were affirming it had been, perhaps not truly, because they did not yet know that John, but they were affirming it nevertheless. Also if that Aimery was, nevertheless, at least able to understand Latin sufficiently well, how, at that time in which even the most literate did not know the Greek language, did a person without literary gifts know that those Westerners did not live in conformity with the said book that nobody had made into Latin up to that point?

56.[95] In other respects, the book having been attributed to the same John the 44th for so long a time, he who compiled the first Constitu-

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[93] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:17-18.

[94] In other words, the claim that the work had originally been written in Greek was false.

[95] [56] *Ceterum, tam ipsum Ioanni XLIV imputatum librum, quam Cyrillo adscriptam Epistolam ignorasse debuit, qui primus compilavit Constitutiones Ordinis, addens Præfationem ad instruendos Fratres, quomodo debeant competenter satisfacere, quærentibus, a quo vel quomodo Ordo sumpsit exordium, vel quare dicuntur Fratres Ordinis Beatissimæ Dei genitricis & Virginis Mariæ de monte Carmeli. Non enim alium invenit quem citaret testem, quam Iosephi cujusdam Antiocheni librum de perfecta militia primitivæ ecclesiæ; adjuncturus haud dubie etiam Ioannem, si quidquam tunc scivisset Ordo de eo. Habemus Constitutiones, anno MCCCCXCIX impressas Venetiis, quales in Capitulo Bruxellensi anno MCCCCLXIV publicasse dicitur Ioannes Soreth; sed haud dubie diversißimas a primis Ordinis Constitutionibus, quas allegat Alexander IV in Bulla anni MCCLVI, quasque optaremus genuinas nancisci: nam quæ nunc exstant, plurimum mutatæ & auctæ sunt, atque inprimis statuunt quod in Ordine sint provinciæ viginti duæ, quarum postrema sit Arragonia, ut distincta a Provinciæ Hispaniæ quæ est decima; distinctionem autem istam Lezana refert ad annum MCCCCXVII. Interim ejusdem cum prima collectione antiquitatis videtur esse ipsa Præfatio, quoad primam sui partem (nam altera manifeste Sorethi est) & istam Præfationem seu rubricam, velut ab antiquo editam & antiquarum Constitutionum primam, allegant Ioannes Bacconus, qui anno MCCCXXX floruit, & Bernardus Olerius sub Vrbano VI Magister Ordinis Generalis; Iosephum quidem Antiochenum non nominantes, sed ipsa fere usurpantes verba quæ ibi allegantur. Hac antiquitate non contenti Carmelitæ hodierni, (quamquam ipsi ibi dicantur Fratres Beatæ Mariæ Virginis de monte Carmeli deinceps per Apostolica Privilegia vocati, & talia privilegia initium habeant cum Innocentio IV, ut infra docebimus) malunt Brocardum ipsum antiquarum Constitutionum auctorem dicere; quod gratis assertum, non indiget refutatione; probaret tamen, si verum esset, saltem Brocardi ævo ignotum Carmelitis fuisse librum, Ioanni Hierosolymitano suppositum a posteris. Quod*

tions of the Order could not have known the Letter that was ascribed to Cyril, adding a Preface to the Brothers needing to be instructed, how they should competently satisfy[96]

> those asking, by whom or in what way the Order assumed a beginning, or for what reason they are called 'the Brothers of the Order of the Most Blessed Mother of God and Virgin Mary from the mountain of Carmel'.[97]

For he, without doubt about to add even John to it, if the Order had then known something concerning him, will not have found another who would have cited the witness than the book of a certain Joseph of Antioch concerning 'the perfect military service of the primitive church'.[98]

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autem ad Iosephum Antiochenum attinet, cujus testimonio ibi confirmatur, quod Apostolorum coadjutores, Eliæ & Helisæi sequaces, de monte Carmeli descendentes, fidem Christi sparserunt; & oratorium ædificantes, elegerunt ut dicerentur Fratres B. Mariæ Virg. de Monte Carmeli. Hic inquam liber, quamvis Pseudojoannis libro fortaßis uno seculo antiquior, non meretur ad Brocardi ætatem aspirare, quando nomen istud Fratrum adhuc ignotum erat: & licet id ei concederetur, deberet nihilominus, æque ac liber Ioannis, censeri spurium vitulamen, seculo Christi 11 male attributum, & toti ignotum antiquitati, auctorisque proculdubio Latini & multis seculis posterioris, uti suadet Ecclesiæ primitivæ appellatio, præmature in titulo usurpata, ac phrasis reliqua, quatenus in Præfatione habetur; nam ipse liber hactenus nusquam comparuit. Non est facile erudito huic seculo, quo omnia ad fundum excutiuntur, plumbum pro auro supponere, sic ut diu fraus lateat. Plausum fortaßis initio referunt aliquem, dum fulgent magni nominis specie obducta: sed ubi intimius considerantur & criticum examen talia subeunt, in risum vertitur admiratio, & causæ, cui fulciendæ fuerant fabricata, mirum in modum ista præjudicant. Ita scriptis illis accidit, quæ sub nominibus Dextri, Maximi, Luitprandi, Iuliani, initio seculi hujus prodierunt. Excepta cum gratulatione ab Hispanis sunt, gaudentibus tantam ex insperato historiis suis lucem affundi, tot Sanctorum decora suæ regioni asseri, patriasque traditiones quasdam tantis testibus fulciri: imposturam primum exteri, deinde & Hispani sagaciores agnovere, & facile agnoscerent Carmelitæ vel ex sola librorum nostrorum lectione, nisi nomen suum etiam in istis figmentis invenirent, quod vellent antiquius credi XIII seculo. Placet enim illis mirifice commentum quoddam de prima Beatæ Virginis Mariæ ecclesia, jam inde a temporibus Apostolorum in Carmelo ædificata, a qua factum sit, ut jam tunc qui degebant ibidem eremitæ, vocarentur Fratres S. Mariæ de monte Carmelo: sed nulla solida auctoritate probabunt, nomen illud vel sub Alberto in usu fuisse, nedum tot seculis ante.

[96] Although 'quomodo debeant competenter satisfacere' is not in italics, it is not part of the quotation and the omission of the italics is therefore regarded as a typographical error. See O.Carm., ed. *Constitutiones fratrum ordinis B. Dei Genitr. Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmeli recognite et correctae decreto Cap. Gener. Romae celebrati anno Iubilei 1625* (Rome: Typis Andrea Phari, 1625), 1, n. 1.

[97] Ibid.

[98] The Carmelite Constitutions of 1625 quoted Joseph of Antioch's *[Speculum] perfectas militias primitivae ecclesiae* on 'the perfect soldiers of Christ, solitaries, dedicated to contemplation, the descendants of the Holy Prophets who were the followers of Elijah and Elisha from the mountain of Carmel, who ... constructing on oratory in honour of the Virgin Mary on the slopes of Mount Carmel, served the Mother of the Saviour in a most

We have Constitutions, printed in Venice in the year 1499,[99] which John Soreth is said to have published in the Chapter of Brussels in the year 1464,[100] but, without doubt, very different from the first[101] Constitutions of the Order which Alexander IV alleges in the Bull of the year 1256,[102] and which we would wish to discover to be genuine. For those that are now extant have been very much changed and augmented and 'having been printed' they establish 'that there are twenty-two provinces in the Order',[103] of which the last is Aragon, as distinct from the Province of Spain that is the tenth, this distinction, however, de Lezana refers to the year 1417.[104] In the meantime, since the first collection of the same antiquity is seen to be the same Preface,[105] insofar as John Baconthorpe, who flourished in the year 1330, and Bernard Oller, the Master General of the Order under Urban VI, allege that its first part (for the other is manifestly of Soreth) and that the Preface or rubric were just as 'having been edited from the old times and the first of the ancient Constitutions', not naming Joseph of Antioch, indeed, but making use of almost the same words that are alleged to be in that place.[106] Not content with this antiquity, today's Carmelites (although the same are said in that place to be called by means of an Apostolic Privilege 'The Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary from the Mountain of Carmel',[107] and such privileges have a beginning with Innocent IV, as we will prove below) prefer to call the same Brocard the author of the ancient Constitutions,[108] which, having

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particular way. And, for that reason, they chose her title so that they were called the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary from the Mountain of Carmel.' See ibid., 1-2, n. 1.

[99] See *Summorum Pontificum constitutiones ad Ordinem Fratrum Beatissimae... Marie de Monte Camello, cum diligentia eméndate per v. bac. fratrem Joannem Mariam de Polucijs de Novelaría* (Venice: per Lucantonium Giunta Florentinum, 1499).

[100] There is no record of a General Chapter in Brussels in 1464 and the correct reference should probably be to the Carmelite General Chapter held in Brussels in 1462, see Carlo Vaghi O.Carm., *Commentaria fratrum et Sororum Ordinis Beatissimae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo Congregationis Mantuanae* (Parma: Typis Joseph Rosati, 1735), 55.

[101] Modern scholarship has since identified the 1281 Constitutions as the earliest that are extant, see Saggi O.Carm., "Constitutiones (1281)."

[102] See Vaghi O.Carm., *Commentaria fratrum et Sororum Ordinis Beatissimae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo Congregationis Mantuanae*, 18.

[103] See O.Carm., *Constitutions 1499*, preface.

[104] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:784.

[105] See O.Carm., *Constitutions 1499*, preface.

[106] See Adrian Staring O.Carm., *Medieval Carmelite Heritage: Early Reflections on the Nature of the Order*, Textus et studia historica carmelitana, 16 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1989), 189-190, 403-404.

[107] See ibid., 412.

[108] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano*

been gratuitously asserted, does not require a refutation. If it were true, nevertheless, it would prove at least that the book attributed to John of Jerusalem by those following after was unknown to the Carmelites in the age of Brocard. What pertains to Joseph of Antioch, however, by the testimony of whom it is confirmed in that place that

> The assistants of the Apostles... the descendants of the followers of Elijah and Elisha... scattered the faith of Christ ... and, building an oratory ... they elected to be called 'The Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary from Mount Carmel.'[109]

This book, I say, although perhaps a century older than the book of Pseudo-John,[110] does not deserve to aspire to the age of Brocard, when that name of Brothers was not known up to that time. And, it being permitted that it be conceded to it, it should, nevertheless, be assessed as both equal to the book of John, a spurious shoot badly attributed to the eleventh century of Christ and unknown to the whole of antiquity, and doubtless of a Latin author and of many centuries later, as the appellation 'of the primitive Church', prematurely made use of in the title, and the remaining diction, as far as it is found in the Preface, suggests, for, up to now, the same book appears nowhere. To those having been educated in this century, in which all things are shaken out down to the bottom, it is not easy to pass off lead for gold, as though the fraud might be hidden thus for a long time. In the beginning, perhaps, they bring applause back to someone, while the things brought forward glisten with the appearance of a great name. But when they are considered more profoundly and such things undergo a critical examination, admiration is turned into laughter and they pass sentence on the reason for which those things needing to be supported were fabricated in a strange way. It happened thus for those writings that came out, under the names of Dexter, Maximus, Luitprand, Julian, at the beginning of this century.[111] They were received with congratulations by Spaniards, rejoicing that such light was to be poured from their histories, that so many splendours of the Saints were to be joined to their region, and that some paternal traditions were to be supported by so many witnesses, and afterwards the more sagacious of the Spaniards discerned, and that Carmelites acknowledged from the reading of our books alone, if you will, that, unless they also found their name in those formations of new words, that, of old

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Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita, 2:197.

[109] See O.Carm., *Constitutions 1625*, 1-2, n. 1.

[110] From the context, the title 'Pseudo-John' probably refers to Philip Ribot.

[111] See Bellarmine SJ, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis*, 147.

times, they wanted to be believed to be thirteenth century. For a certain comment concerning the first church of the Blessed Virgin Mary from that place, already having been built on Carmel from the times of the Apostles, by which lady it was done so that those hermits who were then living in the same place were called 'Brothers of Holy Mary from Mount Carmel', pleased those ones wonderfully. But they proved by no solid authority that that name was in use either under Albert or, much less, so many centuries before.

57.[112] Because a mention was made concerning Carmel, however, and something was made up concerning the Church that, in that place, had been built in honour of the Mother [of God], and which had flourished in the time of the perpetual succession of the intentions of the Elijans, such things, as it would seem, were being asserted without a foundation. I say more, and I assert that it can be proved by no suitable witness that the same memory of the Prophet Elijah on Carmel was once numbered by Christians among the holy places needing to be visited on pilgrimage. I address the witnesses of whatever number having departed to the Holy Land to leave to those coming after them the reason for their pilgrimages in writing, or to distribute to others what needs to be written. Jerome wrote many things concerning the diligence of his Paula in travelling around the holy places and, immediately from the first entrance into the Holy Land, he narrates how, 'having left behind the ancient Sidon, she entered the little tower of Elijah on the shore of Sarepta.' When, however, 'she arrived at Coth, which is now called Ptolemais', near Carmel, memorable in the Scriptures for such a multitude of pro-

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[112] [57] *Quia autem de Carmelo facta est mentio, deque ecclesia quæ ibi in Deiparæ honorem fabricata fuisse fingitur, & apud quam Elianorum institutum perpetua succeßione floruerit; ut appareat, quam sine fundamento talia asserantur; dico amplius, & assero, nullo idoneo teste probari posse, quod ipsa Eliæ Prophetæ in Carmelo memoria, olim a Christianis annumerata sit locis in sacra peregrinatione adeundis. Testes appello quotquot in Terram-sanctam profecti suarum peregrinationum rationem posteris reliquere scripto, vel aliis scribendam dimisere. Multa de Paulæ suæ diligentia in locis sacris circumeundis, scribit Hieronymus, & statim a primo in Terram-sanctam ingressu narrat, quomodo, antiqua Sidone derelicta, in Sarepthæ littore Eliæ est ingressa turriculam: ubi autem pervenit ad Coth, quæ nunc Ptolemais dicitur, putasne vicinum Carmelum, tanta prodigiorum multitudine memorabilem in Scripturis, adire contempsisset, si qua ejus tunc fuisset celebritas? S. Willibaldi Hodœporicon spectat ad annum circiter DCCXX, & eodem fere tempore Arculphus Episcopus simili modo peregrinatus est. Ex hujus ore accepit Adamnanus locorum Terræ-sanctæ descriptionem, quæ Typis vulgata a Canisio extat, una cum epitome illius per Bedam scripta: ex illius relatu ipsum Hodœporicum scripsit Sanctimonialis cognata: utrobique Thabor & oppidum Nazareth distincte nominantur, ipse Carmelus prætermittitur; & tamen ita vicinus utrique loco ipse est, ut ex hoc ad illum transiens, paucarum leucarum flexu, adire montem poßit.*

phetic signs, do you think she would have distained to go, if the fame of it had been at that place?[113] The *Hodoeporicon*[114] of St Willibald pertains to about the year 720 and at almost the same time he went on pilgrimage in a similar way.[115] It was from the mouth of Bishop Arculphus that Adamnán received the description of the places of the Holy Land, which is extant, having been published by the printer, Canisius,[116] together with its abridgment[117] written by means of Bede,[118] [somehow] connected, the nun wrote that *Hodoeporicon* from that one's report.[119] Tabor and the town of Nazareth are distinctly named by both, Carmel itself is passed over. And thus, nevertheless, it is near to both places so that passing from this place to that, by a turning aside of a few leagues, it is possible to approach the mountain.

58.[120] That if there was not any fame of the place constantly in the time of St Jerome, nor after three centuries, it would not be credible, how-

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[113] See Andrew Cain, ed. *Jerome's Epitaph on Paula: A Commentary on the Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae*, Early Christian Texts (Oxford: University Press, 2013), 216-217.

[114] This word refers to an itinerary.

[115] See Hendrik de Hondt (Canisius), ed. *Antiquae Lectiones*, 6 vols. (Ingoldstadt: Canisius, 1601-04), 4:475-692.

[116] Despite what Papenbroeck says here, I have not been able to find Adamnán's account in ibid. See Jacob Gretser, ed. *Adamnani Scotohiberni Abbatis celeberrimi, De Sitv Terrae Sanctae, Et Quorundam aliorum locorum, ut Alexandriae, et Constantinopoleos, Libri tres Ante annos nongentos, et amplius conscripti, Et nunc primum in lucem prolati studio Jacobi Gretseri,... accessit eorumdem librorum breviarium seu compendium, breviatore venerabili Beda* (Ingolstadt: apud Elisabetham Angermariam, vid., sumptibus Joannis Hertdroy, 1619).

[117] See Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, 5.17-18 in Ignotus, ed. *Venerabilis Bedae... Epitome trium libellorum, quos Adamannus de locis sanctis conscripsit* (n. p.: n. p., 1619).

[118] On the roles of Arculphus, Adamnán and Bede, see Jacob Gretser, *Jacobi Gretseri societatis Jesu theologi Opera Omnia*, 17 vols. (Ratisbon: Ad pedem Pontis Typis Mariae Apolloniae Hanckin, 1734-41), 246G.

[119] See Joannes Quasten, ed. *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage*, Ancient Christian Writers, 38 (Mahwah, NJ: The Newman Press, 1970), 54, 74. Papenbroeck implies that Egeria based her *Itinerarium Egeriae*, not on her own experience, but on the report coming via Bede and Adamnán from Arculphus.

[120] [58] *Quod si usque tempore S. Hieronymi, neque tribus post secutis seculis celebritas aliqua loci fuit; credibile autem non sit, quod postea, collapsis in Terra-sancta Christianorum rebus, exurrexerit magnum aliquod ibidem monasterium, in cujus ante adventum Latinorum destructi ruderibus, cum sociis cœperit habitare Bertholdus; cogor vehementer dubitare, utrum rudera illa* τῆς μονῆς, *de quibus loquitur Ioannes Phocæ, vere alicujus monasterii fuerint, & non potius reliquiæ habitationis illius, (utrumque enim significat vox* μονὴ) *quæ occasione profani oraculi, quod istic Vespasiani ævo consulebatur, olim fuerat excitata. Præterea si revera maximum monasterium ibi fuit, ubi Bertholdus invenit magni ædificii vestigia; ex eoque olim centeni & centeni, non sigillatim tantum, sed etiam turmatim, ut*

ever, that, afterwards, the affairs of Christians having fallen to ruins in the Holy Land, any great monastery would have risen up in the same place, in whose ruins, having been demolished before the arrival of the Latins, Berthold began to live together with his associates. I am vehemently constrained to doubt whether those ruins were those of the monks (τῆς μονῆς) concerning whom John Phocas speaks, were they truly the ruins of some monastery, and not, rather, the remains of that 'habitation' (for the word μονὴ signifies both) by reason of the profane oracle that was formally summoned forth there when it was consulted in the age of Vespasian? Moreover, if, in fact, there was in that place an extensive monastery where Berthold found the remains of a great building, and from that, formerly, hundreds and hundreds obtained the palm of martyrdom having been put to death by the Barbarians, not only one by one but also in squadrons, as the Carmelite writers want, in what manner did their memory not remain among the Greek monks who were equally both among a smaller number of martyrs for a long period and used with cruelty by the brigands of the emperors in the monasteries of Saba, Sinai and Raithu, of whom there are both feasts and Acts? The conjectures of those conjecturing that, in that place, there was formally a monastery is seen to have given an opportunity to the ancient Carmelites, having been asked which rule was observed on Carmel before that more recent Rule of theirs was put together, in what manner they might have responded that it was the Rule of St Basil, which, as they knew, had for a long time been common to all the monasteries of Greek rite. For, although Berthold, the animator of the Carmelite Or-

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volunt Scriptores Carmelitici, palmam martyrii obtinuerunt, occisi a barbaris: quomodo eorum apud Græcos monachos non remansit memoria æque ac Martyrum minori longe numero & crudelitate a latrunculis cæsorum in monasteriis Sabæ, Sinai & Raithu: quorum & festa & Acta habentur? Conjectura tamen opinantium ibi olim monasterium fuisse, videtur occasionem dedisse antiquis Carmelitis, ut interrogati quæ Regula fuerit in Carmelo servata, priusquam sua illa recentior conderetur, responderint, Regula S. Basilii, utpote quam scirent longo tempore communem fuisse omnibus Græci ritus monasteriis. Nam quamvis Carmelitici Ordinis in Carmelo excitator Bertholdus ex Calabria advenerit, ubi multa erant Græci ritus Basilianorum monasteria; ipsum tamen (quem vel ex nomine colligas a Francis Normannisve Calabriæ dominantibus originem trahere) alterius ritus quam Latini monachum & Sacerdotem fuisse, nemo dixit hactenus, & nemo si dicat persuaserit. Multo prius quam hic eo appelleret, imo ante Latinorum sub Godefrido Bullionio adventum, seculo fortaßis IX aut X Epiphanius monachus Hagiopolita scripsit enarrationem de Syria, urbe sancta, & locis ibi sanctis; in quibus nec montem Sinai, neque S. Mariæ Ægyptiacæ sepulcrum, octo diætis Hierosolymis dißitum, præterivit silentio; præterivit Carmelum. Neque magis eumdem nominandum sibi credidit Anonymus similis ævi auctor de locis Hierosolymitanis, cum dicto Epiphanii libello inter Συμμικτὰ *Allatiana editus a Nihusio. Denique appulsis jam in Terramsanctam Latinis ac feliciter agentibus, anno MCXXX, eodem profectus est S. Theotonius; in hujus autem Vita, ad XVIII Februarii illustrata, commemorantur celebriora quæque loca ab illo adita, nec tacetur Iericho, propter Elizæi fontem adiri solita: sed tacetur Carmelus, ob Eliæ anachoresim multo spectabilior, si tunc fuisset aliqua ejus æstimatio.*

der on Carmel, had come from Calabria, where many monasteries of the Basilians were of Greek rite, that he himself, nevertheless (who, you may gather from the name, drew his origin from the dominant Franks or Normans of Calabria) was of another rite than that of a Latin monk and Priest, nobody has said up to now and it will have persuaded nobody if anybody would say it. Long before this one might be called to that place, nay, before the coming of the Latins under Godfrey of Bouillon, perhaps in the 9th or 10th century, 'Epiphanius of Jerusalem, the monk' wrote an account 'concerning Syria, the holy city and the holy places there' in which he passed over in silence neither mount Sinai nor the tomb of St Mary of Egypt, located in eight Jerusalem dwellings, [nevertheless] passed over Carmel in silence.[121] Nor, together with the little book of the said Epiphanius, edited by Nihusius among the various writings (Συμμικτὰ) of Allacci,[122] did 'Anonymous', the author of the 'concerning the Jerusalem places' of a similar age, believe himself to be required to name the same. Finally, the Latins having already been called and, happily, conducted to the Holy Land in the year 1130, St Theotinius set out for the same place. In his Life, illustrated at the 18th of February,[123] however, the more celebrated places and those places added by him are commemorated, nor is Jericho, accustomed to be approached on account of the spring of Elisha, passed over in silence but Carmel, much more notable on account of Elijah's life as a hermit, if there was then some estimation of him, is passed over in silence.

59.[124] Doubtless, although Berthold, with only ten associates, and with a little oratory rather than with a church, began to live in that place

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[121] See John Wilkinson, "Epiphanius the Monk: The Holy City and the Holy Places," in *Jerusalem Pilgrims Before the Crusades*, ed. John Wilkinson (Westminster: Aris and Phillips, 1977), 207-215.

[122] See Nihusius, *Leonis Allatii: Summikta*, 1:48-63.

[123] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 5 (Feb III):108-118.

[124] [59] *Verum postquam ibi cœpit habitare Bertholdus, quamvis cum decem solis sociis, parvuloque oratorio potius quam templo, mox secutus Ioannes Phocæ, de quo supra, mentionem ejus minime negligendam putavit. Annis post Ioannem viginti tribus, cum secundum Priorem Brocardum Carmelitæ haberent, eodem appulsus est Willibrandus ab Oldenborgh, Hildesemiensis Canonicus, Episcopus postea Paderbornensis ac deinde Vltrajectinus. Hic in suo Itinerario, quod pariter inter prædicta Συμμικτὰ legitur, hæc verba scripsit: Super Caipham urbem directe jacet mons Carmelus, in quo hodie monstratur mansio Eliæ & honoratur: in quo loco quotidie Missarum solennia celebrantur. Quam autem paucos ibidem etiam tunc oportet eremitas fuisse, de quorum nova vel institutione vel reformatione, nihil dicere habuit curiosus iste peregrinus! quam altum ibi adhuc silentium, de primo sacello quod ibidem Apostoli olim dedicaverint? Econtra talis prærogativa vulgari opinione tunc tribuebatur loco alteri, nempe Taradensi, idest, Antaradensi civitati, Saracenis Tortost dictæ, ubi, inquit Willebrordus prælaudatus, ecclesia parva maximæ venerationis, quam Beati Petrus & Paulus, cum Antiochiam properarent, ex Angelica admonitione propriis manibus ex incultis lapidibus S.*

afterwards, John Phocas, concerning whom above,[125] who soon followed him, reckoned the mention of it[126] least of all needing to be neglected. For twenty-three years after John, when the Carmelites had the second Prior, Brocard, 'Willibrand from Oldenborgh, a Canon of Hildesheim', afterwards Bishop of Paderborn and finally of Utrecht, came to the same place. In his Itinerary, that is read in the same way among the said various writings (Συμμικτὰ), this one wrote these words:

> Directly above the city of Haifa lies Mount Carmel, on which, today, the dwelling of Elijah can be seen and honoured ... in which the solemnities of the Mass are celebrated.[127]

Concerning how few hermits from either the new institution or the reformation there ought to be in that place, however, that curious pilgrim had nothing to say! Up to that point, how deep the silence is in that place concerning the first temple that the Apostles had once dedicated in the same place! On the contrary, such a prerogative was then attributed by the common opinion to another place, namely to [the church] 'of Tarados', that is 'to the city of Antarados' called 'Tartost' by the Saracens, 'where', says the already praised Willebrord,[128]

> there is a small church of the greatest veneration, at that time the first temple of St Mary, which, out of an angelic warning, the Blesseds Peter and Paul constructed with their own hands from undressed stones when they were hurrying to Antioch. This was the first church that was built in honour of our Lady and ever-Virgin Mary.[129]

Mariæ tunc primum composuerunt. Hæc erat prima ecclesia, quæ in honorem Dominæ nostræ semperque virginis Mariæ fuit ædificata. Quam vere hæc tunc traderentur non examino, hoc solum infero, non esse verosimile quod similis de Carmelitano oratorio tunc viguerit traditio, aut tale quid de eo fuerit Willebrordo narratum. Ceterum intentionis meæ non est Carmelitarum ab Elia proceßionem hoc argumento negare. Potuit illa, si vera est, alibi quam in Carmelo fuisse continuata: ubicumque autem fuerunt Carmelitæ, suos proculdubio habuerunt Superiores quocumque voles nomine appellatos: numquam tamen credas, illos uni veluti Archimonasterio subordinatos aut ejus Præfecto fuisse obnoxios, uti nunc plerique Religiosorum Ordines uni Generali subsunt. Prudentior in hæc parte Ludovicus a S. Teresia, inutilem arguit eorum solicitudinem, qui Bertholdum nolunt absolute vocari primum Priorem Generalem, sed volunt ut addatur Latinorum: quasi scilicet etiam Syri aut Græci, per plura divisi monasteria, sub uno capite uniti fuerint. Addo ego, ipsam Prioris Generalis appellationem esse præproperam, & solum Bertholdo dari posse per anticipationem tituli, successoribus competentis, ut sæpe fieri assolet.

[125] See nn. 48, 58.

[126] Although it might also refer to Berthold himself, the previous paragraph suggests that it refers, here, to Mount Carmel.

[127] See Nihusius, *Leonis Allatii: Summikta*, 1:122-152, 144.

[128] Apparently through a confusion of two similar names, the dossier uses the name Willebrord, rather than Willebrand, at this point.

[129] See Nihusius, *Leonis Allatii: Summikta*, 1:122-152, 130.

That these things were then truly handed on I do not examine. This thing alone I conclude that it is not credible that a similar tradition, or such as that concerning it narrated by Willebrord,[130] would have then blossomed concerning the Carmelite oratory. In other respects, by this argument, it is not of my intention to deny the procession of the Carmelites from Elijah. If it is true, it is possible that that procession was continued elsewhere than on Carmel. Wherever the Carmelites were, however, they had, without doubt, Superiors by whatever name you want them to be called. You should never believe, nevertheless, that those Superiors were just as if subordinated to the one Arch-monastery or that they were submissive to its Prefect, and as very many Orders of Religious are now under the one General. On that account, Louis de Sainte Thérèse proves more prudently the unprofitable solicitude of those who do not want Berthold to be unrestrictedly called 'the first Prior General' but who want that 'of the Latins'[131] be added, nay, almost also, you may be sure, even the Syrians and Greeks, divided over many monasteries, had even been united under one head. I myself add that the same title 'of Prior General' is too hasty, and that it can only be given to Berthold by means of an anticipation of the title given to the competent successors, as often is usually done.

60.[132] See, however, toward what absurd conjectures that solicitude will have driven certain very recent writers. Suetonius will have

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[130] As before, and again, apparently, in error, the dossier uses the name Willebrord, rather than Willebrand, at this point.

[131] See de Ste Thérèse OCD, *La succession du saint prophet Elie*, 460.

[132] [60] *Vide autem ad quam insulsas conjecturas ea solicitudo impulerit quosdam noviβimos scriptores. Narraverat Suetonius in Vespasiano, quod huic, in nuda Carmeli ara sacrificanti (nec enim ibi simulacrum Deo aut templum erat) Basilides Sacerdos inspectis extis pronuntiarit, feliciter cessura quæcumque agitabat animo. Continuo satis hoc fuit, ut Basilidem ex gentili aruspice (qualem describit Suetonius) Elianum facerent Cœnobiarcham; parum considerantes, eadem Suetonii auctoritate illam prætensam suam ecclesiam Apostolicam everti, de qua supra. Conciliis Constantinopoli celebratis anno CCCCXLVIII & DXXXVI subscripserunt Eusebius, Silas, Babylas, Presbyteri monasterii Eliæ & Archimandritæ. Mox velut indubitatum assumitur, eos ex Terra-sancta, & quidem ex Carmelo venisse, ac succeβive fuisse ibidem Priores; idque tam confidenter, quasi fidem extorquere deberet affirmandi temeritas, non probandi veri idonea auctoritas. Atqui non solum in Palestina extra Carmelum, sed etiam in pluribus Constantinopolitani Imperii regionibus, suas ecclesias ac monasteria S. Elias Propheta habuit, & præter ipsum varii Sancti Eliæ fuere, monasteriaque & ecclesias a se nominatas reliquere, quorum octo aut decem possem vel ex nostris catalogis nominare. Deinde in ipsa Constantinopolitana urbe aut saltem ejus vicinia, quotannis XIII Ianuarii celebrabantur* Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ ἁγίου Προφήτου Ἠλίου τῆς μονῆς τοῦ Βαθυρρύακος, Dedicatio S. Prophetæ Eliæ, in monasterio *dicto* Βαθυρρίακος, *id est, Profundi lacus. Dedicationem istam habemus ex antiquo Ms. Synaxario Claromontano, quod cum plurimas ecclesiarum Constantinopolitanarum contineat dedicationes, præ aliis quibuscumque Mss. Synaxariis, intelligimus ipsum ad usum alicujus earum fuisse conscriptum. Quanto autem verosimilius est ex hoc monasterio*

narrated to Vespasian that, to this place, on the naked altar of the one sacrificing to Carmel (for in that place there was no 'likeness to God or temple'), 'Basilides the Priest, having inspected the entrails' will have happily proclaimed whatever thing was agitating the soul to be about to depart.[133] That was sufficiently immediate that, paying little attention to the fact that, by the same authority of Suetonius, that alleged Apostolic church, concerning which above,[134] was to be overturned, from being the soothsayer to the clan (which Suetonius describes), they made Basilides the ruler of the community of the Elijans.[135] 'Eusebius, Silal, Babylas, the Priests and Archimandrites of the monastery of Elijah' subscribed to the Councils of Constantinople celebrated in the year 448 and 536.[136] It is soon assumed just as something undoubted that those men came from the Holy Land, and, indeed, from Carmel and that they had been, successively, Priors in the same place. And it is assumed so confidently, as though the temerity of needing to affirm the trustworthiness ought to take it away by force, the proper authority of the truth not needing to be proved. And yet, not only outside Carmel in Palestine, but also in many regions of the Empire of Constantinople, St Elijah the Prophet had his churches and monasteries, and beyond him there were various St Elijahs, and they left behind monasteries and churches named from them, of whom eight or ten I would even be able to name from our catalogues. Finally, in the city of Constantinople itself, or at least in its vicinity, how many times is 'The Dedication of the holy Prophet Elijah, in the monastery (Τὰ ἐγκαίνια τοῦ ἁγίου Προφήτου Ἠλίου τῆς μονῆς)' called 'Bathurriakos[137] (τοῦ Βαθυρρύακος)', that is, 'of the Deep Lake', celebrated on the 13th of January. We have that dedication from an ancient manuscript, the

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fuisse qui subscripsere dictis Constantinopolitanis Conciliis, quam ex Terra-sancta? Inde enim nec unus quidem Episcopus interfuit, forte nec vocatus est ad Concilium anni CCCCXLVIII, uti ex subscriptionibus patet: in altero autem Actione I, cum Theodoro Tribuno ac Referendario & Mariano Præposito Monasterii S. Dalmatii atque Primate, dicuntur intrasse venerabiles Presbyteri & Archimandritæ Urbis regiæ, ultra quinquaginta, interque eos Sylas monasterii Eliæ: deinde enumerantur qui adfuere de sanctis Christi veri Dei nostri locis ex Syria, absque mentione cujusquam e Carmelo aut Eliæ monasterio. Idem fit Actione III, IV & V.

[133] See Suetonius, *De Vita Caesarum, Divus Vespasianus* 5.6, in Donna W. Hurley, ed. *Suetonius: The Caesars* (Indianapolis - London: Hackett Publishing, 2011), 308.

[134] This refers to the church at Antarados dedicated to Our Lady, see n. 59.

[135] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 80.

[136] See Lorenz Sauer (Surius) OCart, ed. *Conciliorum omnium, tum generalium, tum prouincialum atque particularium* (Cologne: Apud Geruvinum Calenium & Haeredes Iohannis Quintelii, 1567), 2:480.

[137] Rather than having the transliteration given in the text, the Greek form Βαθυρρίακος is used, changing the vowel from u to i.

Synaxarium Claromontanum,[138] that contains many dedications of the Constantinopolitan churches, in front of certain other Synaxaria manuscripts we understand the same *Synaxarium* had been co-written for the use of some one.[139] To what extent, however, is it credible that those who subscribed to the said Councils of Constantinople were from that monastery rather than from the Holy Land? For, from there,[140] not one Bishop was present, indeed, having accidently not been called to the Council in the year 448, as is clear from the subscriptions.[141] In the other Acts,[142] the First [session], however, when 'the venerable Priests and Archimandrites of the royal City'[143] are said to have been present together with Theodore, the Tribune and Master of Requests, and Marianus, the Prevost of the Monastery of St Dalmatius and of the Primate, more than five hundred, and among them 'Sylas of the monastery of Elijah'. Finally, those who were present 'from the sacred places of Christ, our true God' from Syria, without any mention whatever of those from Carmel or from the monastery of Elijah, are numbered.[144] The same is done by the third, fourth and fifth [session] Acts.[145]

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[138] This refers, it would seem, to a manuscript entitled: *Synaxarium Ecclesiæ Constantinopolitanæ, quod spectat ad collegium Claromontanum Societatis Iesu Parisiis.*

[139] The Latin word *Synaxarium* translates the Greek *Synaxarion* (Συναξάριον), referring to a collection of hagiographies in eastern Orthodox churches. It is equivalent to a martyrology.

[140] The refers, apparently, to the Holy Land.

[141] The acts of the Council of Constantinople in November 448 were preserved by being read at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and the list of the 53 signatories to the seventh and final session are given in Richard Price and Michael Gaddis, eds., *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, 3 vols., Translated Texts for Historians (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 1:225-229. Although not mentioned by Papenbroeck, the list of signatories for the seventh session includes (n. 43) the presbyter, Eusebius, who was archimandrite of the monastery of Helias/Elijah, whose monks were thought to be Syrian, see ibid., 228; Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, 6:754..

[142] This refers to the council of Constantinople held in 536.

[143] The city in question is Constantinople.

[144] See Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum*, 8:903-908.

[145] This refers to the acts of the third, fourth and fifth sessions of the Council of Constantinople of 536, see ibid., 8:985-990, 1007-1012.

Chapter 7

The Age of Brocard, to Whom the Rule was Dedicated, is Defined and the Chronology of the First Priors is Put in Order.[1]

> From the number of years that the Chronicles assign to each one, and from the death of Cyril in the year 1234, it follows that Berthold began about the year 1155, not under Ademar of Le Puy, the Apostolic Legate in the year 1088, or Aimery de Saviniaco, the Apostolic Legate after the year 1120, but under Aimery of Limoges, the Patriarch of Antioch, not the Legate, indeed, but by being then present in Jerusalem, and by being the one promoting the cause of Berthold of Calabria before Amalric, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Under the obedience of that one [Aimery of Limoges] were only the Hermits of the mountain of Carmel, who used to live in that place following the example of Elijah; or perhaps [their] institution was also following his [Elijah's example]? It was not proved that the third Prior, St Cyril, was Greek. The determination of time was divulged thus far, just as to a most apt place.[2]

61.[3] Because the Cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine referred the beginnings of Berthold, from the more common opinion among the Car-

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[1] *CAPUT VII. Definitur ætas Brocardi, ad quem Regula missa, & primorum Priorum chronologia ordinatur.*

[2] *Ex numero annorum quos singulis assignant Chronicae, & ex obitu Cyrilli anno 1234, sequitur Bertholdum cœpisse circa an. 1155, non sub Hademaro Podiensi Leg. Apost. an. 1088, aut Aymerico de Saviniaco Leg. Apost. post anno 1120, sed Aymerico Lemovicensi, Patriarcha Antiocheno, non quidem Legato, sed tunc Hierosolymis præsente, & Bertholdi Calabri causam agente, apud Amalricum Patriar. Hierosol., sub illius obedientia erant soli Eremitæ montis Carmeli, qui ibi vivebant ad exemplum Eliæ: an etiam ad ejus institutionem? 3 Prior S. Cyrillus non probatur fuisse Græcus. Chronotaxis usque huc dilata, tamquam ad locum aptissimum.*

[3] [61] *Qvia Cardinales Baronius & Bellarminus initia Bertholdi, ex communiori inter ipsosmet Carmelitas sensu (nam præter ipsos habemus neminem ex antiquis qui nominatim Bertholdi meminerit) quia, inquam, Cardinales illi Bertholdi initia referebant ad Pontificatum Alexandri III, elegimus eos sequi ad XXIX Martii, quamvis tunc necdum*

melites themselves (for beyond those we have nobody from the ancients who will have mentioned Berthold by name), because, I say, those Cardinals were bringing back the beginnings of Berthold to the pontificate of Alexander III,[4] we[5] have chosen those things to be followed for March 29th,[6] although the arguments for the chronology needing to be established in that way were not yet available to us then, and we have indicated that year of the said Pontificate to which those ones will have introduced the memorial of their beginnings, not as something considered certain, but as something considered to be deviating less widely. And out of that thing, after having gone over the whole history of the Carmelites with a most painstaking investigation, we do not think that it is necessary now, indeed, to abandon the opinion of the two most illustrious writers.[7] For truly the chronology of the Order, having been impeded among the ancients, the more recent brought it about that, having been much more impeded by accepting the Letter attributed to Cyril, the third Prior, among the legitimate and true histories, they are, however, all different on that account (insofar as Lezana[8] ingenuously acknowledges it[9] for the year 1231) so that hardly one is consistent with the other. With respect to the chronology it proposes, indeed, the same Lezana sticks fast [to that] of the said letter up as far as the same Cyril; after that he thinks that, 'for the other successors, up as far as Bl. Simon, it is something needing to advance by an obscure side-path.'[10]

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certa nobis fundandæ istiusmodi chronologiæ argumenta suppeterent; indicavimusque dicti Pontificatus annum eum, cui illi istorum initiorum memoriam inseruerant, non tamquam certo; sed tamquam minus longe exerranti. Ab ista utriusque Illustrißimi scriptoris sententia ne nunc quidem nobis putamus recedendum, post totam Carmelitanam historiam operosa indagine perlustratam. Etenim chronologiam Ordinis, apud antiquos impeditam, impeditiorem multo effecere recentiores, inter legitimas germanasque historias recipiendo Epistolam, Cyrillo Priori III attributam; omnes autem adeo variant hac in parte (quemadmodum ad annum 1231 ingenue fatetur Lezana) ut vix unus alteri cohæreat. Proponit vero idem Lezana dictæ inhærere epistolæ, quoad chronologiam, usque ad ipsum Cyrillum: deinde existimat, in aliis successoribus, usque ad B. Simonem, obscuro tramite incedendum.

[4] Alexander III was Pope from 1159 to 1181.

[5] The 'we' here refers to the Bollandists collectively, it would seem.

[6] The Carmelites celebrated the feast of St Berthold on March 29th, see the Bollandist dossier on St Berthold I in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 8 (Mar III):791 (n. 2).

[7] The writers concerned are the two Cardinals mentioned earlier.

[8] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:274.

[9] This refers to the Letter or Cyril, it would seem.

[10] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:274.

62.[11] From Palaeonydorus I myself will accept the 45 years of Berthold, and the 33 of Brocard,[12] just as they have been accepted by the more certain tradition. For the documents are often considered to be faithful concerning the number of years for which someone ruled (and we see this in the Catalogues of the Roman Pontiffs)[13] but opinions fluctuate on applying those same presumptions to the common era.[14] Having set down that number of years, it seems to me to be possible to bring the most obscure and intricate thing, that Cyril had ruled for only three years, such as de Lezana accepted for the year 1224,[15] out into the unobstructed light, and only that thing that the author of the Chronicle concerning the multiplication of the Order throughout Europe asserts would still remain unchanged, clearly, that, 'at the same time' in which, by means of the death of Cyril, the office of Prior was empty, 'and because the Religion had been transplanted into the regions of Europe, they came for the election of the new Prior' (for this thing having been settled is said to have been revealed to Cyril, and by him to those Hermits subject to him)

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[11] [62] *Ego ex Paleonydoro accipiam Bertholdi annos XLV, & Brocardi XXXIII, tamquam ex certiori majorum traditione acceptos: contingit enim sæpe, idque in Romanorum Pontificum Catalogis vidimus; de annorum quo quisque rexit numero firma haberi documenta, sed in iisdem ad Æram communem applicandis fluctuare opiniones. Isto annorum numero posito, videor mihi posse rem, hactenus obscurißimam intricatißimamque, in patentem lucem educere, modo mihi permittatur pro certo assumere, quod ut tale Lesana [sic. Lezana] ad annum 1224 assumit, solis tribus annis rexisse Cyrillum; & modo id, quod auctor Chronicæ de multiplicatione Ordinis per Europam asserit, maneat etiam inconcussum, videlicet, quod eodem tempore, quo per mortem Cyrilli vacabat officium Prioratus, accesserunt ad electionem novi Prioris: & quia Religio in Europæ regionibus transplantanda erat (hoc enim Cyrillo dicitur revelatum fuisse, & ab eo subditis sibi Eremitis persuasum)... Bertholdum, natione Longobardum in quartum Priorem elegerunt; nam quia de Europæ regionibus fuit progenitus, ideo aliis aptior repertus est ad transplantandum Ordinem in cismarinis partibus: & ejus tempore aliqui ex Fratribus, natione Cyprii, in insulam Cypri transfretaverunt; alii vero, Siculi natione, ad Siciliæ insulam navigaverunt.*

[12] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 81-82.

[13] See John Bale, *Acta romanorum pontificum a dispersione discipulorum Christi usque ad tempora Pauli quarti* (Basel: Jo. Oporinus, 1558).

[14] In 1615, Johannes Kepler used the expression 'in the year of our common/vulgar era (*anno aerae nostris vulgaris*)', apparently as an alternative to dating systems based on the year of a particular kingship or papacy and as the equivalent of 'the year of the Lord (*anno Domini*)', in the extended title of one of his works, see Johannes Kepler, *Joannis Keppleri Eclogae chronicae: ex epistolis doctissimorum aliquot virorum & suis mutuis, quibus examinantur tempora nobilissima: 1. Herodis Herodiadumque, 2. baptismi & ministerii Christi annorum non plus 2 1/4, 3. passionis, mortis et resurrectionis Dn. N. Iesu Christi, anno aerae nostrae vulgaris 31. non, ut vulgo 33., 4. belli Iudaici, quo funerata fuit cum Ierosolymis & Templo Synagoga Iudaica, sublatumque Vetus Testamentum. Inter alia & commentarius in locum Epiphanii obscurissimum de cyclo veteri Iudaeorum* (Frankfurt: Tampach, 1615).

[15] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:253.

> ... they elected Berthold [II], by nation a Lombard, as the fourth Prior; for because he had been begotten from the regions of Europe, for this reason he was discerned to be more suited than the others for transplanting the Order in the parts beyond the sea; and, in his time, some from the Brothers from the nation of Cypriots passed over the sea to the island of Cyprus; others, in truth, from the nation of the Sicilians, sailed to the island of Sicily.[16]

63.[17] If it would be permitted to hold these things, having been asserted just as from an author that is the more ancient and, for that reason, of better trustworthiness, there will be nothing that we might not give credence to in the ancient author of the Carmelite Chronicles asserting with Bale in the Writers of England, on p. 279:[18] 'Cyril the Greek, the third Guardian of the Carmelites, died in the year 1234.' For just as from that year, the seven years of Berthold II and the five years of Alan (and Palaeonydorus[19] writes for how many years both ruled) it arrives precisely at the year 1245, the year in which Bl. Simon Stock was elected, writes the same Bale from his same ancient Chronicle,[20] and assenting to him in this all the Carmelites after Zeger Pauwels and de Lezana now have it.[21] Thus it is credible that Palaeonydorus counted the years of being Prior of those preceding with the same exactness, although he had erred on the years for those things needing to be applied to the Christian era.[22] By trimming the

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[16] See ibid., 4:257.

[17] [63] *Hæc si tenere permittat, velut ab antiquiori & ideo fidei melioris auctore asserta, nihil erit quominus credamus vetusto auctori Chronicæ Carmelitanæ apud Balæum in Scriptoribus Angliæ pag. 279 asserenti, Cyrillum Græcum, tertium Carmelitarum Præsidem, obiisse anno MCCXXXIV. Sicut enim ab hoc anno, per annos septem Bertholdi II, & Alani annos quinque (tot autem annis utrumque rexisse scribit Palæonydorus) præcise venitur ad annum MCCXLV, quo electum esse B. Simonem Stock, ex eadem sua antiquæ Chronica scribit idem Balæus, & in hoc assentientes sibi nunc habet Carmelitas omnes post Segerum Pauli atque Lezanam; ita credibile est eadem accuratione numerare Palæonydorum annos Prioratuum præcedentium, licet erraverit in illis ad Æræ Christianæ annos applicandis. Aßignatos autem ab eo dictorum Prioratuum annos supputando ab obitu Cyrilli, pervenitur ad annum MCLVI, qui fuerit S. Bertholdi Prioris primi primus: & eo moriente sui regiminis anno XLV, cœperit Carmelitanam [sic. Carmelitanum?] eremum gubernare is, cujus causa hæc tractantur, Brocardus, anno scilicet MCC, quinto antequam in Syriam appelleret Albertus, Regulam Carmelitis daturus.*

[18] See John Bale, *De Scriptoribus majoris Brittaniae, hoc est Angliae, Cambriae, et Scotiae summarium* (Ipswich - Wesel: John Overton, 1548-49), 279.

[19] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 94-95.

[20] See Bale, *De Scriptoribus majoris Brittaniae*, 279.

[21] See Zeger Pauwels (Pauli), "De viris illustribus Ordinis Carmelitani", Cologne: Carmelite Archive; de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:303.

[22] Johann Jacob Gryner used the term 'Christian era (*aerae Christianae*)', which refers to the same era as that referred to by the term 'common era' noted earlier, in the title

assigned years of the said individuals being Prior from the death of Cyril, however, one arrives to the year 1156, which was the first [year] of the first Prior, St Berthold. And he, dying in the 45th year of his governing, Brocard, on account of whom these things are being investigated, began to govern the Carmelite[23] hermitage in the year 1200, the fifth [year] before Albert, the one about to give the Rule to the Carmelites, was called to Syria.

64.[24] But this determination of time (other than that all might avoid those projecting rocks in the sea concerning which the chronology of all the more recent Carmelite writers for those two or three centuries, by which they attempted to adapt it to the years of the common era, produced the most unfortunate shipwrecks) carries another convenient opportunity of particular importance, and in some fashion it prepares the way for saving the tradition of the Carmelites concerning Aimery, the Patriarch of Antioch, and it was as though by his authority and counsel, indeed, that the Hermits scattered throughout the Holy Land will have been gathered together

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of one of his works in 1584, see Johann Jacob Gryner, *De Eucharistica controuersia, capita doctrinae theologicae de quibus mandatu, illustrissimi principis ac domini, D. Iohannis Casimiri, Comites Palatini ad Rhenum, Ducis Bauariae, tutoris & administratoris Electoralis Palatinatus, octonis publicis disputationibus (quarum prima est habita 4 Apr. anno aerae christianae 1584)...* (Heidelburg: Typis Iacobi Mylij, 1584).

[23] *Carmelitanam* (rather than *Carmelitanum*) is presumed to be a typographical error.

[24] [64] *Atque hæc Chronotaxis (præterquam quod omnes eos evadat scopulos, ad quas miserrimum naufragium fecit Carmeliticorum scriptorum omnium recentiorum chronologia, hisce duobus aut tribus seculis, quibus eam conati sunt ad Æræ vulgaris annos aptare) aliud commodum affert momenti præcipui, viamque sternit salvandæ utcumque Carmelitarum traditioni, de Aymerico Patriarcha Antiocheno, quasi ejus auctoritate & consilio Eremitæ quidam per terram sanctam sparsi, collecti fuerint in unum corpus, persuasique Carmelum habitare sub obedientia B. Bertholdi. Cum enim Carmelus ad Hierosolymitanum pertineat Patriarchatum, ab urbe Sancta P. M. vix LXXX, ab Antiochia totis CCXL & amplius remotus; nec appareret quomodo Patriarcha Antiochenus potuisset in Patriarchatu Hierosolymitano jurisdictionem exercuisse, pro tali institutione necessariam; recurrendum sibi putaverunt Carmelitani Chronologi ad aliquem, qui fuisset Apostolicæ Sedis Legatus in partibus Orientis, atque adeo in utroque Patriarchatu statuere aliquid potuerit. Igitur ad Aymerum seu Hademarum Episcopum Podiensem respexerunt aliqui; eum scilicet, qui cum Godefrido Bullionio ceterisque Principibus Antiochenæ Vrbi capiendæ interfuit Legatus Apostolicus, paulo post mortuus. Alii, in quibus Palæonydorus, ad tempora Calixti II alligantes Bertholdi initia, videntur præ oculis habuisse Aymericum, anno MCXX, post captam a Christianis Antiochiam XXII, creatum Cardinalem tituli S. Mariæ novæ, ac paulo post S. R. E. Cancellarium, ad quem, ut virum in Romana Curia auctoritatis præcipuæ, plures extant S. Bernardi epistolæ; & quem licet nemo dicat ivisse in Orientem cum titulo Legati, cum eo tamen illuc aliquando directus (dirigebantur enim identidem alii aliique, non semper a scriptoribus nominati) credi verosimiliter potest. Ad hunc autem respexisse illos suspicari facit cognomen de Samiliaco, a Palæonydoro aliisque usurpatum: quod pro Salviniaco seu Saviniaco, noto in Burgundia oppido obrepsisse videri poßit, quia Samiliacum nullum in tota Gallia reperitur; Burgundus autem Aymericus iste fuit. Sed nec ipse, nec quem supra dixi Aymerus seu Hademarus, fuit Patriarcha Antiochenus.*

into one body, and persuaded to inhabit Carmel under the obedience of Bl. Berthold. For, since Carmel, having been removed from the Pope in the Holy City for barely 80 years,[25] from Antioch for all of 240 years and more,[26] belonged to the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, it was not apparent in what manner the Patriarch of Antioch could have exercised the necessary jurisdiction for such an institution in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, the Carmelite Chronologists considered that they needed to have recourse to someone who had been the Legate of the Apostolic See in the Eastern regions, and, for that reason, would have been able to establish something in both Patriarchates. Some of them, therefore, looked back to Aimery or Ademar, the Bishop of Puy, the Apostolic Legate, certainly, who, having died soon afterwards,[27] had been present, together with Godfrey of Bouillon and the other Princes, for the capture of the city of Antioch. Others, among whom Palaeonydorus,[28] alleging the beginning of Berthold to be about the time of Calixtus II,[29] are seen to have had before their eyes Aimery, created the Cardinal of the title of *Santa Maria Nuova* in the year 1120, 22 years after Antioch was captured by the Christians, and Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church a little later,

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[25] The geographical area of Mount Carmel being removed from the Pope probably refers to the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem establishing the Eastern Orthodox Church in 1054. Papenbroeck recognised (see n. 67 below) that Mount Carmel was under the Bishop of Acre (from 1135 at least) and came under the Archdiocese of Caesarea Maritima in 1167, see Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 976 (2.20.1). His 'barely 80 (*vix LXXX*)' implies that Mount Carmel was not incorporated into the Latin Patriarchates of Antioch or Jerusalem in 1098 and that it was only incorporated into those Latin Patriarchates about 1134. It seems more likely, however, that Mount Carmel belonged to the schismatic Patriarchates for only 46 years, since it was part of the Crusader's Demesne of Haifa, established in 1100, two years after the establishment of the Latin Patriarchate of Antioch in 1098. The Demesne did not have its own titular bishop and it seems to have been administered directly by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem originally. Some claim that the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, William I of Malines, made Mount Carmel part of the Archdiocese of Caesarea Maritima in 1132, see Elias Friedman OCD, "Mount Carmel," in *Carmel in the Holy Land from its Beginnings to the Present Day*, ed. Silvano Giordano OCD (Arenzano: Il Messagero di Gesù Bambino, 1995), 26-32: 32; Silvano Giordano OCD, "La Terra Santa al tempo della Regola Carmelitana," in *The Carmelite Rule (1207-2007). Proceedings of the Lisieux Conference*, Textus et studia historica carmelitana, 28 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2008), 39-66: 61; Alan V. Murray, ed. *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Oxford: ABC Clio, 2006), 1:553-554. On Patriarch William I of Malines, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):xlvii.

[26] The geographical area of Mount Carmel being removed from Antioch probably refers to the creation of the Latin Patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1099, the year after the creation of the Latin Patriarchate of Antioch in 1098 and '240 years and more' after that refers to 1339 approximately. In his account of the Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Papenbroeck argues that there were titular Latin Patriarchs of Jerusalem until the 1330s, see *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):lxx-lxxi.

[27] Bishop Ademar of Le Puy died in 1098.

[28] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 79.

[29] Pope Calixtus II was Pope from 1119 to 1124.

to whom, as [one] of the men of particular authority in the Roman Curia, many letters of St Bernard are extant, and, although nobody would say that he went to the East with the title of Legate, since, having been directed to that place at some time or other, nevertheless (for, again and again, some or other [Cardinal], not always named by the writers, used to be [so] directed), he can very likely be believed to have been in that place.[30] Those who looked back to him, however, supposed that the surname 'de Samiliaco' used by Palaeonydorus[31] and others instead of 'Salviniacum' or 'Saviniacum', a town known to be in Burgundy[32] that can be seen to have been taken by surprise, because no 'Samiliacum' is found in the whole of France. That Aimery was, however, a Burgundian.[33] But neither he himself, nor the one whom above I have called Aimery or Ademar was the Patriarch of Antioch.

65.[34] By that,[35] however, it was Aimery of Limoges (whom, since it is to be read in the author of the letter attributed to St Cyril that he is

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[30] In other words, it is likely that Cardinal Aimery was in the East with the title of Apostolic Legate at some time between his being made Cardinal (1120) and the death of Pope Calixtus II (in 1124).

[31] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 79.

[32] The village known in Latin as *Salviniacum/Saviniacum* is now known as Savigny-les-Beaune and it is located in the Côte de Beaune region of Burgundy, north of the village of Beaune.

[33] Cardinal Aimery de la Châtre of *Santa Maria Nuova* was born in the castle of la Châtre in Burgundy.

[34] [65] *Hoc autem fuit Aymericus Lemovicensis (quem cum de villa appellata Salamiacum legi natum dici, apud auctorem epistolæ S. Cyrillo attributæ; & in Lemovicibus duos vicos inveni Salaniac nuncupatos; non sum ausus correctioni, Palæonydoro per conjecturam adhibitæ de Salviniaco Burgundico, firmiter assentiri) fuit, inquam, Aymericus, de Malafaida a scriptoribus Carmeliticis cognominatus, Antiochenus Patriarcha ab anno MCXXXVII ultra annum MCLXXXIV. Qui licet cum eligeretur, electione haud satis canonica minusque decora, qualem Guilielmus Tyrius describit lib. 15 cap. 18, laborarit infamia conversationis non satis honestæ, essetque nullius litteraturæ: potuit tamen prius vitium correxisse ætas maturior, & ecclesiasticæ qua coërcebatur obligationis neceßitas tantæ dignitati conjuncta; posterius supplevisse ingens inter omnes auctoritas, innixa summæ illius potentiæ (nam opulentißimus fuit) & rerum politicarum experientiæ, & insigni animi fortitudini, quas ejus laudes licebit discere ex Tyrio variis occasionibus & potißimum lib. 18 cap. 1. Ipsum tamen etiam a Romano Pontifice habuisse aliquando potestatem Legati Apostolici; non tantum ideo non credam, quia in tota sacri belli historia omnino nullus invenitur Legatus in Oriente factus; sed omnes immediate ex Occidente mißi dicuntur: verum etiam quia illo ipso fere tempore, quo cum tali potestate Carmelitas stabilisse debuisset Aymericus iste, missum cum ea ab Alexandro III ad partes Orientis esse Joannem, dicit Tyrius lib. 18 cap. 19, virum admodum litteratum & Rom. Eccl. Presbyterum Cardinalem tituli SS. Joannis & Pauli: de cujus receptione si fuit, ut fuit, controversia magna; quia ratione schismatis in Ecclesia suborti haud satis certa erat illius potestas; fuisset illa multo major, & Ioanni prorsus ineluctabilis, si Legationis Apostolicæ auctoritatem antea habuisset Aymericus Antiochenus, ab indubitato Pontifice sibi collatam.*

[35] This refers, it would seem, to the reference to being Patriarch of Antioch.

said to have been born 'from the country estate called *Salamiacum*',[36] and since two villages called 'Salaniac' are to be found among the people of Limoges, I have not dared to firmly assert through conjecture the correction to Burgundian *Salviniacum* being applied to Palaeonydorus), it was, I say, 'Aimery de Malafaida, Antiochene Patriarch from the year 1137 to beyond the year 1186',[37] having been given the surname[38] by the Carmelite writers.[39] Who, notwithstanding that he was elected by an insufficiently canonical and less than becoming election, of what sort William of Tyre describes in book 15, chapter 18, had worked to overcome the dishonour of being [the fruit] 'of an insufficiently honest relationship'[40] and of being a person of no learning. The more mature age and the necessity of the ecclesiastical obligations connected to such an office, by which he was surrounded, were able, nevertheless, to correct the earlier defect. Later, a remarkable authority among [them] all, supported by that one's greatest power (for he was most wealthy) and the experiences of political matters, completed the eminent fortitude of soul of the one whose praises one is allowed to learn from [William of] Tyre on various occasions and, principally, in book 18, chapter one.[41] Nevertheless, on this account, I will not believe that the same also had the power of the Apostolic Legate at some time, not only because, in the whole history of the Crusades, nobody at all is found having been made Legate in the East but all are said to have been sent immediately from the West. Because, truly, even at almost that very time in which that Aimery, with such power, should have established the Carmelites, [William of] Tyre says in book 18, chapter 19,[42] that John, 'a very literate man and the Presbyter Cardinal of the Roman Church of the title of Saints John and Paul', was sent by Alexander III to the Eastern parts with that power.[43]

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[36] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 15.

[37] Aimery was Patriarch of Antioch from c. 1140 to c. 1196.

[38] This refers to the surname 'de Malafaida'.

[39] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 79.

[40] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 883 (2.15.18).

[41] See ibid., 931 (2.18.1).

[42] Since the equivalent text (*vir admodum literatus, Romanae Ecclesiae presbyter Cardinalis, tituli sanctorum Ioannis & Pauli*) is found in chapter 29, the 19 would seem to be a typographical error, see ibid., 944 (2.18.29).

[43] On the deletion of the section beginning 'de cujus receptione' and ending 'Pontifice sibi collatams' from the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):910.

66.[44] But, if the Legate was not Aimery, the difficulty posed above, that it be explained what he could have bestowed on our Hermits in a place of alien jurisdiction outside his own diocese, remains something restless. I will untie the knot from [William of] Tyre and, at the same time, I will confirm the Chronology established above. In the already cited book 18, chapter one, he narrates that, having been liberated from the custody into which he had been thrown most undeservingly by Raynald, the Antiochene Prince, Aimery, the Antiochene Patriarch, at the intercession of the King of Jerusalem[45] in the year 1154, having received the goods that had been snatched away with equal violence, withdrew from the madness of the powerful adversary, on the pretext of recuperating easily somewhere or other and 'forsaking the Antiochene diocese, he directed himself to the kingdom of Jerusalem where, entertained in a friendly manner by the Lord King' Baldwin III, 'and his most discerning mother' the Lady Melisende, 'and all the Bishops of the Kingdom, he remained for some years'. Nor, unless having been released from fear by

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[44] [66] *At, inquies, si Legatus non fuit Aymericus, manet supraposita difficultas ut explicetur, quid conferre Eremitis nostris potuerit in alienæ jurisdictionis loco extra propriam diœcesim. Solvam ex Tyrio nodum, & simul confirmabo Chronologiam supra constitutam. Narrat hic lib. 18 cap. 1 præcitato, quod Aymericus Patriarcha Antiochenus, anno MCLIV, interceßione Regis Hierosolymitani liberatus a custodia, in quam fuerat a Raynaldo Antiocheno Principe indignißime conjectus, receptis quæ pari violentia erepta fuerant bonis, cesserit potentis adversarii insaniæ, quovis prætextu facile resuscitandæ; & Antiochenam deserens diœcesim, in regnum se contulit Hierosolymorum; ubi a Domino Rege Balduino III, & ejus matre discretissima Domina Melisende, & Regni universis Episcopis benigne habitus, per aliquot mansit annos; & MCLVII, quoniam Amalricus, Hierosolymitanus Patriarcha post Fulcherium electus, consecrationis munus nondum obtinuerat... asciscitur de mandato Regio, ut & Reginæ Theodoræ, Imperatoris Constantinopolitani Isaacii nepti, regiæ unctionis conferret gratiam, & conjugii usitata solennia celebraret: nec videtur Antiochiam revertisse, nisi metu solutus per Raynaldi Principis captivitatem, quæ sub finem anni MCLX contigit. Igitur cum in Hierosolymitano Patriarchatu Aymericus Antiochenus, quamvis exul, maxima gratia & auctoritate apud Regem & Patriarcham valeret; prudentißime Bertholdus egit, quod ab Elia Propheta admonitus de habitando Carmelo, ad ipsum accesserit, consilii & auxilii causa; imo & necessariæ facultatis. Erat enim (ut Ioannes Phocæ nos primus docuit) oriundus ex Calabria, adeoque Antiocheno Principi in temporalibus, Patriarchæ in spiritualibus subjectus: ac verosimiliter unus eorum monachorum Latinorum, qui in Montanis nigris juxta Antiochiam sua habebant monasteria, teste Vitriaco. Benedictinusne aut Cisterciensis vel Florensis monachus (nam hujusmodi fere ex Neapolitano regno Boamundum, Normannici sanguinis Principem, ejusque successores in Terram-sanctam erant comitati) an vero simplex & nulli Ordini adstrictus eremita, non inveni qui doceret hactenus, nec attinet ingratiis quærere, cum inter Aborigines censeri Carmelitæ affectent. Satis est eos dedocuisse errorem, quo Lemovicensum Bertholdum credidere, & ipsius Aymerici aut fratrem aut consanguineum; causam autem explicuisse, quomodo habitationem in Carmelo ambiens, ad id facultatem petierit ab Antiocheno Patriarcha, & quomodo ab eodem auxilium tam efficax habere potuerit, ut ipsi potius quam cuicumque alteri remanserit gloria restaurati Carmeli.*

[45] At that time, Baldwin III was King of Jerusalem.

means of the captivity of Prince Raynald, which comes to the end under the year 1160, is he seen to have returned to Antioch in '1157, seeing that' Amalric, the Patriarch 'of Jerusalem having been elected' after Fulk 'had not yet obtained the consecration ... it is approved from the Royal command, and so that he might confer the grace of the royal anointing of the Queen',[46] Theodora, the granddaughter of Isaac,[47] the Emperor of Constantinople, 'and that he might celebrate the usual solemnities of the spouses'.[48] Therefore, since Aimery of Antioch, although an exile in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, was strong enough for the greatest grace and authority before the King and Patriarch, Berthold acted most prudently. Having been warned in some manner by Elijah about inhabiting Carmel, he will have approached the Patriarch of Antioch for the sake of counsel and help, and, in reality, for the sake of the necessary means. For he was (as John Phocas first taught us) 'descended from Calabria' and, for that reason, he was subject to the Antiochene Prince in temporal matters, to the Antiochene Patriarch in spiritual matters. And, very likely, Berthold was one of their Latin monks who had their monastery on the Black Mountains near Antioch, as de Vitry testifies.[49] Up to now I have not found one who might teach [us] whether he was a Benedictine or a Cistercian or a Flora monk (for almost all those who accompanied Bohemond, the Prince of Norman blood from the Neapolitan kingdom, and his successors into the Holy Land were of such a kind), or, indeed, a simple hermit and attached to no Order, nor does it belong to the unwelcome to ask, since the Carmelites aspire to be considered among the First Ancestors. It is sufficient that they unlearn the error by which Berthold is believed to have been a native of Limoges, however, and that they clarify the reason, how, soliciting support for the dwelling on Carmel, a brother or relation of the same Aimery[50] will have sought from the Patriarch of

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[46] Rather than being Queen of Antioch, as stated here, Theodora, who became the second wife of Prince Bohemond III of Antioch about 1175, was Princess of Antioch.

[47] Rather than being the granddaughter of the former Emperor Isaac I Komnenos (an error presumably based on Isaac's grandnephew, Emperor John II Komnenos, having the same name as her father), as stated here, Princess Theodora of Antioch was probably the daughter of Duke John II Komnenos of Cyprus, the elder brother of Emperor Manuel I Komnenos, and, therefore, the reigning Emperor's niece.

[48] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 931-932 (2.18.1).

[49] See Franciscus Moschus, ed. *Iacobi de Vitriaco... Libro duo, quorum prior Orientalis, sive Hieroslollymitanae: Aliter Occidentalis Historia nomine inscribuntur* (Douai: Ex officina typografica Balthazaris Belleri, 1597), 1:65 (chapter 32).

[50] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 79.

Antioch the power concerning it,[51] and how he will have been able to have such efficacious help from the same so that it is to the same one, rather than to some other, that the glory of Carmel having been restored[52] will have remained.

67.[53] As we have said, Carmel was under the Bishop of Acre (he was then a certain Frederick and it was [so subject] up to the year 1167, when it passed over to the Archbishop of Tyre,[54] as [William of] Tyre writes in book 20, chapter one[55]). From that situation, Aimery, because he was beloved to the whole kingdom of Jerusalem and powerful, was easily able to bring it about that Berthold was permitted to live among certain ruins of that mountain and to gather a small number of companions, which, up to the year 1185, never reached more than ten. Since he was very

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[51] The *id* here would seem to refer to Carmel.

[52] Here, Papenbroeck seems to be placing himself hypothetically in the position of one of the Carmelites who accepts the Elijan succession and who would, therefore, view what took place through Berthold as the restoration of that succession, rather than the origin of the Carmelites as such.

[53] [67] *Suberat Carmelus, uti diximus Acconensi Episcopo, (erat is tunc Fredericus quidam, & fuit usque ad annum MCLXVII, quando ad Archiepiscopatum Tyrensem transiit, ut scribit Tyrius lib. 20 cap. 1) ab hoc Aymericus, toto Hierosolymitano regno gratiosus ac potens, perquam facile potuit impetrasse, ut inter quædam montis istius rudera habitare Bertholdus sineretur, & pauculos sodales colligere, qui usque ad annum MCLXXXV ultra decem non excrevere. Idem vero Aymericus, cum esset opulentißmus, cur non credatur suppeditasse Bertholdo sumptus necessarios, ad opus non magnum, primumque oratorium per seipsum consecrasse, Acconensi Episcopo id permittente? Denique, si credere volumus novellum Eremitarum cœtum, in ipsis statim principiis suis, ceterorum Religiosorum Ordinum more, jus obtinuisse Profeßionis; idque si concedi per ordinariam simplicis Episcopi auctoritatem non potuit, nec ab ipso Aymerico in aliena diœcesi sanciri; credemus, etiam jus illud per eum impetratum fuisse a Patriarcha Hierosolymitano Amalrico: atque ita uni Antiocheno Patriarchæ merito adscribetur tota laus fundati vel restituti Carmelitici Ordinis, absque eo quod eidem assingatur gratis potestas aliqua extraordinaria, qua fuerit in hoc negotio usus. Hæc porro omnia cum non haberentur apud Carmelitas distincte descripta, imo sola fere traditione conservarentur, facillimum etiam fuit tres personas, ejusdem aut similis nominis, constare in unam, vitio traditis sine scripto historiis familiari; & Aymericum de Samiliaco, Apostolicæ Sedis in Terra sancta Legatum factum anno MCXX, ut scribit Palæonydorus, confundere cum Aymerico Lemovicensi, Patriarcha Antiocheno; & rursum eidem dare instituendæ in Carmelo Religiosæ Professionis potestatem, quæ proprie loquendo non in Aymerico hoc, sed in Amalrico Hierosolymitano Patriarcha residebat, viro, ut scribit Tyrius lib. 18 cap. 20 commode quidem litterato, sed nimium simplici ac pene inutili, parvarum tamen hujusmodi recularum, ad pia loca spectantium, nequaquam incurioso, ut ostendetur in tractatu de Hierosolymitanis Patriarchis ante proxime secuturum Majum. Apud hunc enim Aymerici Antiocheni, hospitis grati atque potentis, suggestio debuit invenire pronum aditum ad impetrandam gratiam, a Bertholdo & sociis expetitam, per quam veri Religiosi haberentur & essent.*

[54] It is the same Frederick who had been Bishop of Acre who was Archbishop of Tyre in 1167.

[55] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 976 (2.20.1).

wealthy, why is the same Aimery, indeed, not believed to have provided Berthold with the necessary expenses for a work that was not great, and the first oratory consecrated by means of himself, with the permission of the Bishop of Acre? Finally, if we want to believe that the new group of Hermits, immediately in their very beginnings, in the manner of the rest of the Religious Orders, obtained the right of Profession,[56] and, if it could not be conceded by means of the ordinary authority of a simple Bishop, nor to be decreed by the same Aimery in an alien diocese, we still will believe that that right had been sought by means of him from Amalric, the Patriarch of Jerusalem. And thus, apart from that which some extraordinary power freely assigns to the same, all the praise that had been used in this affair for having founded and restored the Carmelite Order is to be rightly ascribed to the one Antiochene Patriarch. Since all these things were formerly not found clearly described among the Carmelites, on the contrary, they were just preserved in tradition alone, it could most easily happen that three people, or of the same one by the similar names, correspond to one person, the family defect having been handed down by the histories without being written down, and that 'Aimery de Samiliaco, having been made the Legate of the Apostolic See in the Holy Land in the year 1120', as Palaeonydorus writes,[57] was confused with Aimery of Limoges, the Patriarch of Antioch. And again to give to the same the power of Religious Profession needing to be instituted on Carmel, which, properly speaking, was not in this Aimery, but resided in Amalric, the Jerusalem Patriarch, a 'very literate' man 'but simple beyond measure and nearly useless' as [William of] Tyre writes in book 18, chapter 20,[58] of those looking towards the pious places, by no means negligent, nevertheless, of the little trifles of this kind, as will be shown in the tract concerning the Patriarchs of Jerusalem about to follow before the next of May.[59] For, by the hospitable reception of the dear and powerful Aimery of Antioch, a suggestion having been added that those bending for entreating the grace sought by Berthold and the companions, the grace by means of which they were to be considered and to be true Religious, ought to have been found in this [*Acta Sanctorum* for April].[60]

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[56] Papenbroeck implies here that there might be reasons why one might not want to believe this and he later suggests that there might be goog reasons for not doing so, see n. 129.

[57] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 79.

[58] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 945 (2.18.20).

[59] This refers to the first volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):xlvii-xlviii.

[60] In other words, it is appropriate that this particular matter be dealt with here, in the dossier on Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem, as has, in fact, been done, rather than in the general treatment of the Jerusalem Patriarchs in the *Acta Sanctorum* for May.

68.[61] In other respects, nobody will have been persuaded that, Aimery of Antioch being the one promoting and attending to the same thing, every or very many of the Latin hermitages of the Holy Land were subject to Berthold, just as 'to a Prior General' (for the Carmelites allege that thing as a minimum). At that time, because that matter had been of the greatest noise and exertion, and by no means solidly established outside the Synod of all the Bishops of the East, omitted by the writers [as] thus minimally constituted, however, then because in the Apostolic Bulls up as far as the year 1230, there is, as we will see below, only a single place that is named subject to the Carmelite Prior, then, finally, because Patriarch Albert, having been asked to write the Rule of the Carmelites, not only wrote that very Rule for 'the Hermits, living beside the spring on mount Carmel' alone but he wrote one of such a kind that, sufficient for those remaining on Carmel alone, it would have been insufficient and inappropriate, however, for the sake of the many hermitages of the diverse dioceses in the scattered Order. Aimery having returned to Antioch, nevertheless, that thing did not prevent him inviting some hermits of the new institution from Carmel and, as [William of] Sandwich testifies in the Chronicles,[62] he gave them a place on 'the Black mountain' and a Prior independent from the Carmelite Prior, even as Monks taken from Montecassino founded monasteries that, although professing the same Rule, were by no means subject to the Abbot of Montecassino in the first age of the Benedictine Order. And thus, as that was supposed to

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[61] [68] *Ceterum quod eodem Aymerico Antiocheno agente & procurante, omnia aut pleraque Terræ-sanctæ eremitoria Latina (hoc enim ut minimum prætendunt Carmelitæ) fuerint subjecta Bertholdo, tamquam Priori Generali, nemo persuaserit. Tum quia res illa maximi fuisset strepitus atque moliminis, & extra Episcoporum omnium Orientalium Synodum nequaquam solide constituenda, sic autem constituta a scriptoribus minime prætereunda; tum quia in Bullis Apostolicis, usque ad annum MCCXXX, unicus dumtaxat locus Priori Carmelitico subjectus nominatur, uti infra videbimus; tum denique quia Albertus Patriarcha, rogatus Regulam Carmelitis scribere, non tantum ipsam scripsit solis Eremitis, juxta fontem in monte Carmeli morantibus; sed talem scripsit, quæ in solo Carmelo subsistentibus, sufficiens; per plura autem diversarum diœceseon eremitoria sparso Ordini insufficiens & improportionata fuisset. Hoc tamen non impedit, quo minus, ut testatur Sanwicus in Chronica, reversus Antiochiam Aymericus aliquos novæ institutionis Eremitas ex Carmelo accersierit, eisque in Monte Nigro locum & Priorem dederit, a Carmelitico Priore independentem; quomodo in prima Ordinis Benedictini ætate, deducti ex monte Caßino Monachi fundaverunt monasteria, Caßinensi Abbati nullatenus subjecta, quamvis eamdem Regulam profitentia. Atque ita verosimile etiam fiet, quod ut verum supposuit, & fortaßis a fide digniori auctore accepit auctor epistolæ, sub nomine Cyrilli III Prioris confictæ, videlicet ipsum Cyrillum exemplar Regulæ, per B. Albertum Brocardo decessori suo traditæ, misisse ad Eusebium Priorem Eremitarum Montis Nero, ut eadem etiam ipsi informarentur, & ab eodem orti principio eamdem porro vitæ normam tenerent: quæ res occasionem dederit Epistolæ ejus, quam supra rejecimus & pluribus infra confutabimus, comminiscendæ.*

[62] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 36 page 1.

be true, it is very likely that this was also done, and, perhaps, the author of the letter composed under the name of Cyril, the third Prior, accepted it on faith from a more worthy author, of course that Cyril himself, his predecessor, having handed down the exemplar of the Rule by means of Albert to B., Brocard sent [it] to Eusebius,[63] the Prior of the Hermits of the Black Mountain, so that they themselves might also be informed by the same things and that, at a distance, they might hold the same norm of life having arisen from the same origin. Which matter will have given the occasion of his Letter, which we have rejected above and which, below, we will refute by the many things needing to be mixed together.

69.[64] Jacques de Vitry, the Bishop of the city of Acre, distant by only four miles from Carmel, writing in book one, chapter 58, about the year 1220, after he had treated concerning the Latin monasteries, then of the Canons Regular and again of the Benedictines, speaks thus:

> Others in imitation of the holy anchorite the prophet Elijah, led solitary lives on Mount Carmel, especially on that part thereof which overhangs the city of Porphyria, now called Haifa,[65] beside the spring called the Spring of Elijah,[66] not far from the Convent of

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[63] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 5-6.

[64] [69] *Iacobus de Vitriaco, Episcopus Acconensis urbis, quatuor dumtaxat milliaribus distantis a Carmelo, circa annum MCCXX scribens lib. 1 cap. 58, postquam de monasteriis Latinis tum Regularium Canonicorum tum Benedictinorum egisset, ita loquitur: Alii ad exemplum & imitationem sancti viri & solitarii Eliæ Prophetæ, & maxime in parte illa quæ supereminet civitati Porphyriæ, quæ hodie Cayphas appellatur, juxta fontem qui fons Eliæ dicitur, non longe a monasterio beatæ Virginis Margaritæ, vitam solitariam agebant, in alvearibus modicarum cellularum, tamquam apes Domini dulcedinem spiritualem mellificantes. Poterant hi profecto, si quis eremitici propositi auctores primos requisivisset, dicere cum Hieronymo ad Paulinum, Noster Princeps Elias, noster Elizæus, nostri duces filii Prophetarum, qui habitabant in agris & solitudinibus, & faciebant sibi tabernacula prope fluenta Jordanis: poterant etiam gloriari de hereditaria tantorum Patrum successione, quamvis interrupta tam longo seculorum forsitan viginti hiatu. Sed ut hæc vera sint, non est opus aut Eliam fuisse monachum sub tribus essentialibus votis Religionis, aut continuam quamdam succedentium sibi eremitarum & ab invicem procedentium seriem statuere, aut Bertholdi primos socios a Græcis Syrisve schismaticis accepisse vitæ eremiticæ normam. Hanc enim prout in Europa exerceri viderant ubique regionum, ita in Palestina cœperant exercere Latini quamplurimi, quorum isti pars aliqua aut propago fuere. Qui tamen prædicta omnia voluerit mordicus sustinere, uti faciunt aliqui, pro indeficienti ista in ipso Carmelo succeßione tamquam pro aris ac focis pugnantes, ei non repugnabimus, nec si totum quidem antiquum monachismum pertrahere velit in Ordinem Carmelitanum. Quid enim ad nos quæstiones de nomine?*

[65] On the identification of Porphyria and Haifa, see Félix-Marie Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (Paris: Gabalda, 1933, 1938), 2:410.

[66] The Formula of Life refers to the Carmelites living 'near the spring on Mount Carmel' without naming the spring. It seems more likely that it was referring to the so-called Upper Spring, which supplied water for the settlement.

> St. Margaret the Virgin, where in little comb-like cells, those bees of the Lord laid up sweet spiritual honey.[67]

Could these really, if somebody of an eremitical intention had asked the first authors to say together with Jerome and Paul,

> Our First one, Elijah, our Elisha, our leaders, the sons of the Prophets, who used to live in the wild and lonely places and who made themselves tents near the running waters of the Jordan.[68]

They might also have gloried concerning 'the hereditary succession of so many 'Fathers',[69] however much having been interrupted for so long a hiatus, of twenty centuries, perhaps.[70] But in order that these things might be true, it is not necessary either that Elijah was a monk under the three essential vows of Religion, or that he established a certain continuous series of successors, and of hermits proceeding one after another, from himself or that the first companions of Berthold received a norm of eremitical life from the schismatic Greeks or Syrians. For, just as they will have seen this norm being used in every one of the regions in Europe, so very many Latins, of whom those ones were some part or a shoot, began to use this norm in Palestine. One who will have wished to uphold all the said things tenaciously, nevertheless, as some in Carmel itself do on account of that unfailing succession just as though they were fighting on account of altar and hearth, we do not fight against him, nor if, indeed, if you would want to drag all of ancient monasticism into the Carmelite Order. What for us, in fact, are questions concerning the name?[71]

70.[72] It seems [to me that] what belongs to Cyril will have made him seem Greek by reason of the name of being Greek alone, but the

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[67] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1:1075; de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*, 27.

[68] *... noster princeps Elias, noster Eliseus, nostri duces filii Prophetarum ...* See St Jerome, *Epistolae*, 58 *Ad Paulinum*, 5, in Migne, *PL*, 22:583.

[69] See de la Bonne Espérance OCD, *Historico-theologicum Carmeli armamentarium*, 408.

[70] The so-called 'hiatus' of twenty centuries would effectively mean that there had been no such succession at all.

[71] In other words, Papenbroeck is not so much concerned with whether the Carmelites claim some connection with the Old Testament prophet Elijah but with the lack of concrete evidence supporting the claim that there had been a continuous succession of monks on Mount Carmel that linked Elijah with the Carmelite Order.

[72] [70] *Ad Cyrillum quod attinet, vereor ne sola nominis Græci ratio fecerit eum Græcum videri; tota autem, vitæ historia a Bostio & Palæonydoro conscripta, non tantum talis est ut optabile foret antiquorum scriptis confirmari posse ea quæ ibi dicuntur, tam illustria, ut ab historicis illorum temporum necessario fuerint, si vere contigerant, attingenda; sed cum dicta*

whole history of the life drawn up by Bostius[73] and Palaeonydorus[74] is such that not only would it have been desirable that the things that are said there could be confirmed by the writings of the ancients, things so illustrious that, if they were truly encountered by the historians of their times, they would have been [considered something] indispensable. But since the said history contains nothing whatsoever that would deserve having confidence in the faith alone of such writers, it would be more correct to let the 6th day of March[75] pass by, just as, for the 25th[76] of the same March, it was necessary for us to let pass the things that those same ones have concerning Berthold, things so absurd that, unless we would have considered something needing to be given to the tradition, together with certain learned men, we would have been able to doubt whether that Berthold has been in the nature of things at any time.[77] The same Cyril gave his name to the young group if our determination of time is true, and if the letter of Cyril is truly that said to have been written to Pope Celestine III (this one died in the year 1198), ending with these words: 'Terrestrial Angels, whose familiar intercourse is in the heavens, are to be found in the monastery of Carmel.'[78]

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historia omnino nihil contineat quod in sola talium scriptorum fide credi mereatur, rectius prætermissa foret die VI Martii; sicut ad XXV ejusdem Martii necessario a nobis omissa sunt, quæ iidem de Bertholdo habent, tam insulsa, ut nisi aliquid dandum traditioni putavissemus, potuerimus cum viris quibusdam eruditis dubitare utrum aliquando fuisset Bertholdus iste in rerum natura. Idem Cyrillus novello cœtui nomen suum dedit sub Bertholdo, si vera est chronotaxis nostra, & si vere Cyrilli epistola est, quam ad Cœlestinum Papam III (obiit hic anno MCXCVIII) scripsisse dicitur, his verbis concludens, in monasterio Carmeli terrestres Angelos reperi, quorum in cœlis conversatio est.

[73] See Arnold Bostius, *Speculum historiale sectatorum SS. Prophetarum Eliae et Elisei*, 7:4 in de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Speculum Carmelitanum, sive historia Eliani ordinis fratrum beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, 2:285-289, nn. 1046-1064.

[74] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):500-502; Joannes Palaeonydorus, *Antiquitatis et Sanctimoniae Eremitarum Montis Carmeli liber in tres parteis digestus* (Venice: ex officina Dominici Guerrei, & Io. Baptistae, fratrum, 1570), 58-60; *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 89-93.

[75] This is the day on which the feast of St Cyril of Constantinople, the alleged third Prior of Carmel, was celebrated.

[76] The dossier gives this date as March 25th rather than March 29th, the day on which the feast of St Berthold was celebrated.

[77] In other words, the very existence of the alleged Berthold is doubted.

[78] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-1794), 6 (Mar I):501; Palaeonydorus, *Antiquitatis et Sanctimoniae Eremitarum Montis Carmeli liber in tres parteis digestus*, 60.

71.[79] In other respects, concerning that Commentary,[80] the Reader should know everything needing to be done and needing to be corrected: whatever things were said concerning Saints Cyril, Brocard or Berthold before that painstaking discussion of the Carmelite history in March,[81] or even in the preceding months, concerning whatever other Saint of the Order, by having been acknowledged or by being enrolled. For we cannot always establish those arduous investigations, which drag themselves out after a long series of consequences, at the first opportunity whatever, especially when another more opportune or even necessary place might be provided where the whole matter could, and should, be examined from the foundations. Unless a better reason should present itself, while something is being awaited, we advance by the same more esteemed road of those taking other things in hand. In this way, in the

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[79] [71] *Ceterum quæcumque de SS. Cyrillo, Brocardo, aut Bertholdo, ante hanc tam operosam Carmeliticæ historiæ discußionem, dicta in Martio sunt, aut etiam mensibus præcedentibus, de alio quocumque Ordinis Sancto, professo vel adscriptitio; omnia ad hunc Commentarium exigenda & corrigenda sciat Lector. Non enim semper prima quavis occasione possumus disquisitiones illas arduas instituere, quæ longam consequentiarum seriem post se trahunt; maxime quando prævidetur alius opportunior aut etiam necessarius locus, ubi a fundamentis poßit & debeat res tota excuti: qui dum expectatur, progredimur probatiori aliorum eadem tractantium via, nisi melior occurrat ratio. Sic, in Ianuario ac Februario toto, Sanctorum Hiberniæ chronotaxim exegimus ad Patricianam, Vsserio probatam: ast ubi in Martio tractanda fuerunt ipsius S. Patricii Acta, solidiora posuimus fundamenta, supra quæ restaurari omnia quæ prægressa sunt debent. Sic de antiquioribus Galliarum Apostolis dubie hactenus & problematice loquimur, moram nobis ipsis indulgentes usque ad IX Octobris, quando agendum erit de S. Dionysio Parisiensi & sociis; sic alia multa in aliud tempus locumque differimus indecisa. Non erat igitur quod quererentur nonnulli, crederentque, ob istam in Martio brevitatem, sua nos neque legisse neque legere velle, ne cogeremur, præjudiciis (ut illi interpretabantur) depositis, ipsorum amplecti placita. Nam etsi necdum plene haberemus constitutum, quid deberemus de Ordinis initio progressuque dicere; satis tamen in eorum scriptis eramus versati, ut jam sciremus quid circa præcipuum punctum oporteret tacere; donec sub manus veniret Albertus, cujus historia vix posset a plena Carmeliticarum rerum tractatione separari. Vita S. Telesphori Papæ, die V Ianuarii, Commentariique ad eamdem, non sunt Ioannis Bollandi opus, sed Segeri Pauli, ut indicat ipse titulus: quare nec sub Bollandi nomine citari possunt. Hoc tamen fieri videns ipse, & usu discernendi certa a dubiis paulatim crescente jam intelligens, quam debilibus fundamentis & auctoribus majori ex parte supposititiis nitantur omnia istic asserta; pœnituit eum facilitatis nimiæ, per quam in isto suo operis hujus tirocinio persuasus fuerat, eidem inserere alienum fœtum: omninoque laudavit, quod datus sibi studiorum socius propositum haberet cautius in talibus agere, nihilque scribere quo vel probari vel improbari Eliana succeßio videretur, donec otium foret eam funditus examinandi: quo nunc facto, adhuc censemus a ferenda sententia abstinere nos posse, in gratiam Ordinis nobis dilectißimi.*

[80] This refers to the dossier on Cyril in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):498-502.

[81] This refers to the dossiers on Saints Berthold and Cyril in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, see ibid., 6 (Mar I):498-502, 8 (Mar III):791-792.

whole of January and February,[82] having inspected Ussher, we inquired into our determination of time of the Saints of Ireland up to the time of St Patrick. But, when the Acts of the same St Patrick were treated in March,[83] we laid down more solid foundations over all those things that, having preceded them, ought to have been rebuilt. In this way, we speak up to now in a fluctuating and problematic manner concerning the ancient Apostles of the people of Gaul, indulging by the same thing the delay by us concerning October 9th,[84] when it will be necessary to treat concerning St Denis of Paris and companions, in this way we defer many other undecided matters to another time and place. It was not, therefore, that there were none who were complaining, and who believed, on account of that brevity in March,[85] that we neither read nor wished to read the things they wrote, nor were we compelled, the prejudices (as those ones were interpreting them) having been set down, by what was acceptable of their embrace. For, although we had not yet fully put in place what we should say concerning the beginning and progress of the Order, we were sufficiently engaged in their writings, nevertheless, that, already, we knew concerning what particular point it was right to keep silent until Albert,[86] whose history could scarcely be separated from a full treatment of Carmelite things, might come to hand. The Life of St Telesphorus the Pope, on the 5th day of January, and the Commentaries on the same,[87] are not the work of John Bolland but of Zeger Pauwels, as the title itself indicates, for which reason, they cannot be cited under the name of Bolland. He himself, seeing this thing being done, and already understanding, by the growing use of gradually discerning a certain matter from doubtful matters, in what degree all the assertions in that place were from things that are not genuine, having been partly leaning on weak foundations and major authors. The excessive readiness, by means of which he had been convinced in that first attempt of his work that an alien brood was implanted in the same displeased him. And he altogether approved that

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[82] This refers to the *Acta Sanctorum* for January and February, see ibid., 1 (Jan I)-5 (Feb III).

[83] See ibid., 7 (Mar II):517-592.

[84] See ibid., 52 (Oct IV):865-987.

[85] This refers to the dossiers on St Berthold and on St Cyril of Constantinople in the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, see ibid.: 6 (Mar I):498-502, 8 (Mar III):791-792

[86] In other words, until the Bollandist dossier on Albert was issued in the *Acta Sanctorum* for April 8th, see ibid., 9 (Apr I):769-802.

[87] See ibid., 1 (Jan I):236-240. See also Sebastian a Sancto Paulo O.Carm., *Exhibitio errorum, quos P. Daniel Papebrochius S. J. suis in notis ad Acta Sanctorum commissit contra Christi domini paupertatem, aetatem...: sum[morum] pontificum acta, & gesta, Bullas, Brevia & Decreta, Concilia...* (Cologne: Apud Servatium Noathen, 1693), 214 n. 68.

the companion of studies given to him[88] might have the intention to act more cautiously in such matters, and to write nothing by which the Elijan succession might be seen to be either proven or disproven until there might be leisure for examining it from the very bottom. Which, now having been done, we consider that, in the grace of the most beloved Order, we could abstain from passing sentence until now.

[88] Godfrey Henschen SJ.

Chapter 8

Concerning the Year of the Rule Given and Signed by Albert, the Fictitious Seals of Him and of St Dionysius the Pope and the More Recent Device of the Order.[1]

It[2] was not given in the year 1171, nor in the year 1199, nor in the year 1205, but perhaps 1209. Albert seems to have noted no year, not even in transcribing the ancient Rule of Carmel. The fictitious device of Albert was an opportunity for new figments of the imagination. From the usage of those times, Ughelli demonstrates the true seal. The other of St Dionysius the Pope, that Luci discovers was for embellishing alone, is similar to the former. Saraceni might have taken the new fable for a foundation. With the distinguishing marks of certain ones having been invented by the ones wearing mantles after the year 1000, the Dominicans and the Carmelites took up the opportunity of their own distinguishing marks.[3]

72.[4] In chapter six, we have noted no year of the Rule having been given, although the year expressed in the *Bullarium* of Cherubini is

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[1] *CAPUT VIII. De anno datæ signatæque ab Alberto Regulæ, ejusque & S. Dionysii Papæ sigillis fictitiis: ac Ordinis signo recentiori.*

[2] This refers to the Albertine Rule.

[3] *Non est ea data anno 1171, nec anno 1199, nec anno 1205, sed forsitan 1209. Albertus nullum annum notasse videtur, nec etiam in transcribenda Regula antiqui Carmelitæ. Signum Alberti fictitium, novorum figmentorum occasio. Verum sigillum, ex illius temporis usu, exhibet Vghellus. Priori simile est aliud S. Dionysii Papa, quod ornatus causa solum adinvenit Lucius, Saracenus pro fundamento novæ fabulæ arripuit. Ab insigniis quorumdam mantellatis, post an. 1000 inuentis, Dominicani & Carmelitae sumpserunt occasionem suorum insignium.*

[4] [72] *Annum datæ Regulæ nullum notavimus capite 6, quamvis in Cherubini Bullario exprimeretur annus MCLXXI; cui diffidere nescius Lucius Belga, in Bibliotheca Carmelitana pag. 24, continuo subtexuit, velut certam sequelam, datam esse Regulam annis plus minus quadraginta ante Dominicanæ & Franciscanæ Religionis approbationem. Duos scilicet istos Mendicantium Ordines, in Concilio solennißime approbatos, cum adhuc constitutum*

1171,[5] of which, not knowing it, Luci the Belgian, in the *Carmelitana Bibliotheca*, p. 24, was straightaway distrustful that it was appended or that the statement which followed was certain:[6] that the Rule was given 'plus or minus forty years before the approval of the Dominican and Franciscan Religion'. You may know that, when those two Mendicant Orders were approved in the most solemn Council,[7] since the Church had as yet no agreement on what it will have established concerning the Carmelite Hermits, they were not allowed to have themselves presented. But I leave this thing to be decided by them: I say that the year noted in the *Bullarium* is fictitious because Brocard was not then Prior, nor Albert Patriarch, nor, indeed, a Bishop. With respect to Brocard, not then Prior, and the Patriarchate of Albert, I say the same concerning the year 1199, for which, as Daniel de la Vierge Marie testifies,[8] 'they have many examples of the Letter' attributed to St Cyril, and, impinging everywhere on the true chronology so that, if you like, this alone could be sufficient to the same needing to be repudiated. For, as often as someone was expressing the year of the Christian era, how could Cyril have wandered in his mind in so many and in such unseemly [directions] in the case of matters done during his own age? And, for instance, the same letter ascribes Berthold to the year 1121[9] and it appears that it is not possible that the error is to be believed to be that of a careless copyist, but is that of the author, be-

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non haberet Ecclesia quid de Eremitis Carmelitanis statueret, præferri sibi non patiuntur. Sed hoc ipsis disceptandum relinquo: annum, in Bullario notatum, dico esse fictitium; quia tunc neque Brocardus Prior, neque Albertus Patriarcha erat, imo nec Episcopus. Idem quoad Brocardum & Alberti Patriarchatum dico de anno MCXCIX, quem, teste Daniele a Virgine Maria, habent pleraque exemplaria Epistolæ, S. Cyrillo supositæ, & ubique in veram chronologiam impingentis; ut vel hoc solum satis esse poßit eidem repudiandæ. Quomodo enim toties & tam turpiter fuisset hallucinatus Cyrillus, quoties aliquis Christianæ Æræ annus exprimendus fuit, in rebus sua ætate gestis? Nam & Bertholdum eadem epistola anno MCXXI adscribit; apparetque non posse errorem credi socordis librarii, sed auctoris, veriorem chronologiam ignorantis; qui cum, ex suorum forte tunc communiori sententia, Cyrillum mortuum existimaret anno MCCIII & sui regiminis tertio, consequens erat ut saltem ante hujus electionem datam Regulam diceret; atque ab anno MCC retrocedens per annos Brocardi XXXIII & Bertholdi XLV (qui, ut ait, non immediate, sed post lapsum temporis sibi successere) vix serius quam anno MCXXI potuit Bertholdi regimen auspicari.

[5] See Laerzio Cherubini, ed. *Bullarium, sive Nova collectio plurimarum constitutionum apostolicarum diversorum Romanorum Pontificum, a Beato Leone Primo usque ad... Paulum Quintum, quae amplioribus quam antea locubrationibus illustrata... in lucem prodit*, 3 vols. (Rome: Ex typographia Camerae Apostolicae, 1617), 1:51.

[6] See Luci O.Carm., *Carmelitana Bibliotheca, sive illustrium aliquot Carmelitanæ religionis scriptorum et eorum operum catalogus*, 24.

[7] The reference is to the fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

[8] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 6.

[9] See ibid., 17.

ing ignorant of the more authentic chronology. Whereby, from what was then, perhaps, their more common opinion, it might be reckoned that Cyril died in the year 1203, the third year of his government, it might be said to follow that, at all events, the Rule was given before his election and, going back by the thirty-three years of Brocard not then Prior and the forty-five of Berthold (who, as it is said, succeeded him, not immediately, but 'after a lapse of time') from the year 1200, the government of Berthold could hardly have begun later than the year 1121.

73.[10] The said Daniel de la Vierge Marie says in the notes to that Letter[11] that 'It is declared in the Annals of the Order for the year 1199 and 1204 that the error was gradually introduced, clearly and in a trustworthy way, from the most certain histories and also in the Chronology of the life of St Simon Stock by Zeger Pauwels'[12] and it should be read that he established the year 1205, 'just as Fr. Lezana[13] has it and Onophrio Panvinio[14] before him'. We have shown above that it was only the following year that Albert began the government of the Church of Jerusalem. Nor do we believe that, as he had come to Syria one year sooner, having been unknown to the people up to then, he was about

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[10] [73] *Errorem irrepsisse, inquit prædictus Daniel a Virgine Maria in notis ad illam Epistolam, clare & luculenter ex certissimis historiis declaratur in Annalibus Ordinis, ad annum 1199 & 1205, nec non a Zegero Pauli in Chronologia Vitæ S. Simonis Stock: statuitque legi debere annum MCCV, prout habet P. Lezana, & ante eum Onuphrius Panvinius. Nos supra ostendimus, anno dumtaxat sequenti auspicatum esse Albertum Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ regimen: nec, ut anno uno citius venisset in Syriam, credimus statim conscripturum fuisse, ignotis sibi adhuc hominibus, vitæ normam ab ipsis tenendam: opus erat annorum saltem pauculorum experientia. His vero interpositis, nullus apparet annus minori in cyfris variationi obnoxius, ad quem reduci poßit 1199, quam 1209, quem etiam Segerus Pauli probat. Nam Cyfris Arabicis, non Latinis notis, utebantur ut plurimum Latini in Syria, & ab aliquo meliori auctore annum MCCIX sic notatum inveniens auctor epistolæ, sed hunc Chronologiæ quam certam putabat non convenire animadvertens; alium, eidem congruum, proximum sumpsit, mutatione quam leviβima; non attendens, quod in isto calculo nihilominus erraret, ultimis annis Brocardi sic tacite adscribendo, quod longe convenientius ad primos ejus annos referendum fuerat, ne totis ferme octoginta annis, sine certo vivendi modo, collecti ad fontem Eremitæ relinquerentur. Nam liber Ioannis, cujus veritatem frustra hæc epistola stabilire conatur, præterquam quod necdum confictus tunc fuerit, non erat aptus ut serviret pro Regula, utpote tractatus majori ex parte historicus, in aliis generaliter asceticus, nihil in particulari determinans, quemadmodum ipsimet ejus propugnatores fatentur, & legere volenti evidens est: Basiliana Regula (si tamen Regula vocari potest instructio spiritualis, cuivis monacho in genere conveniens) Græca erat, nec poterat a Bertholdi sociis intelligi.*

[11] See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 24.

[12] See Pauwels (Pauli), "De viris illustribus Ordinis Carmelitani", Carmelite Archive.

[13] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:152 n. 5.

[14] See Onophrio Panvinio OSA, *Chronicon ecclesiasticum a C. Julii Caesaris tempore usque ad imp. Maximilianum II* (Cologne: Apud Maternum Cholinum, 1568), 106.

to be straightaway enlisted for the norm of life needing to be observed by the same: the experience of a few years at least was needed. These years, truly, having elapsed, no year appears less liable to the variation in numbers than 1209 to which 1199 can be reduced,[15] which Zeger Pauwels also recommends.[16] For, like many others, the Latins in Syria used the Arabic numbers, not the known Latin ones, and the author of the letter finding the year 1209 thus noted by some better author: but this author, observing that it did not accord with the Chronology that he was reckoning to be certain, assumed another suitable year, close to it by the most slight change,[17] not realising that in that calculation he was erring, nevertheless, thus tacitly ascribing to the last years of Brocard what had long been more properly referred to his first years, lest, having been gathered at the spring, the hermits were being left entirely without a certain manner of living for the whole eighty years.[18] For the book of John, whose truth this letter seeks in vain to establish, besides the fact that it had not as yet been fabricated,[19] was not suitable that it might serve as a Rule since it was, for the most part, an historical tract, in other matters generally ascetical, deciding nothing in particular, as, for instance, those very ones who fight on its behalf acknowledge, and as is evident to those willing to read it. The Basilian Rule (if the spiritual instruction addressing in general whichever monk you please can, nevertheless be called a Rule) was Greek, nor could it have been understood by the companions of Berthold.

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[15] This apparently strange claim is clarified in the sentence which follows.

[16] See Pauwels (Pauli), "De viris illustribus Ordinis Carmelitani", Carmelite Archive.

[17] The difference between the two numbers does not seem to be 'slight'. The Gregorian calendar year 1199 overlaps with the Hijri calendar years 595-596, represented in Arabic numbers as ٥٩٥/٦ and, written out in full, 595 (five hundred and five and ninety) is خمسمائة و خمس و تسعون (khamsmi'a wa-khamsa wa-tis'un) and 596 (five hundred and six and ninety) is خمسمائة و ستة و تسعون (khamsmi'a wa-sitta wa-tis'un). The Gregorian calendar year 1209 overlaps with the Hijri calendar years 605-606, represented as ٦٠٥/٦ and, written out in full, 605 (six hundred and five) is (sittumi'a wa-khamsa) ستمائة و خمس (sittumi'a wa-khamsa) and 606 (six hundred and six) is ستمائة و ستة (sittumi'a wa-sitta). In am grateful to Dr Jonathan Kearney for his assistance in providing this information.

[18] The 80 years referred to here are the 45 years of the priorship of Berthold (1121-1166) and the 35 years of the priorship of Brocard (1166-1201). Since the corrected date of the death of Cyril, who succeeded them, was 1205 (rather than 1199), and Albert came to Palestine in 1206, 1209 was a likely date for the Albertine Rule. The alleged explanation for the date of the Albertine Rule being given as 1199 in the letter of Cyril is that its author changed the date of one whose Arabic representation was similar to 1209 and came up with 1199.

[19] Here Papenbroeck implies that the Albertine Rule precedes the alleged book of Bishop John of Jerusalem, and not the other way around.

74.[20] In other respects, just as those who write a letter needing to be delivered within a few days have to designate sufficiently the day of the month, the year, and there are very many designating nothing at all, because that which is present flies away. Thus, in this Rule that does not depart from the manner and style of a letter, I suspect that no year and, perhaps, neither the date nor the month, indeed, had been ascribed. Nor do I suspect that it is so by means of pure conjecture. Among the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, pages 1172 to 1185, are found the Letters of various Kings and Princes and, among them, three letters of Patriarch Amalric to King Louis, all without the day and the year having been given. Only two of Amalric, then, in like manner, [two] of the King of Jerusalem, designate the place and day of the month, the year not at all.[21] I have one assenting to so well-founded a conjecture, and this de Lezana is one who approves the argument not being in vain. For, about the year 1171, when this one had shown that this year was not the one in which the Rule was given, but an error of a blundering writer, and the cause of the error of the ancient Carmelites about the beginnings of Albert had withdrawn into oblivion: 'its oblivion', he says,

> is a great sign that in the letters of Innocent IV, where the Rule is found corrected and inserted on account of its mitigation for the year 1247, the fifth year of the Pontificate of the same Innocent (just as I have inspected with my own eyes in the Registers of the Vatican Archive), the date of the Rule is not placed under it. Without doubt, because they were then uncertain concerning that date of our times.[22]

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[20] [74] *Ceterum, uti plerumque ii, qui epistolam scribunt intra paucos dies perferendam, satis habent diem mensis notare; annum, quia præsens currit, nequaquam adnotantes: ita in hac Regula, quæ modum ac stylum epistolæ non excedit, suspicor annum nullum adscriptum fuisse, ac forte nec diem quidem aut mensem. Neque per meram ita suspicor conjecturam. Habentur inter Gesta Dei per Francos a pag. 1172 ad 1185 variæ Regum ac Principum Epistolæ, interque eas tres Amalrici Patriarchæ ad Regem Ludovicum, omnes absque data diei & anni; duæ dumtaxat Amalrici, tunc pariter Hierosolymorum Regis, locum & diem mensis signant, annum nequaquam. Conjecturæ tam fundatæ assentientem habeo, eamque argumento non vano probantem Lezanam. Nam cum ad annum MCLXXI, ostendisset hunc non esse eum quo data est Regula, sed insciti scriptoris mendum, & erroris causam retulisset in oblivionem Carmelitarum antiquorum circa initia Alberti: hujus oblivionis, inquit, magnum est signum, quod in diplomate Innocentii IV, ubi Regula pro ipsius moderatione correcta & inserta reperitur, pro anno MCCXLVII, Pontificatus ejusdem Innocentii anno V (prout propriis oculis inspexi in Registris Archivii Vaticani) data Regulæ non subjicitur: abs dubie, quia incerti de illa nostri tunc temporis erant. Atqui anni nondum quadraginta efflux-erant, & exemplum tam brevis Regulæ par erat esse in omnium manibus.*

[21] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1173-1175 nn. iv-vi.

[22] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:71 n. 7.

And yet forty years had not yet passed, and in the hands of all the pattern of so brief a Rule was found to be equal.

75.[23] He should have said, rather, that it had not passed into oblivion but into receiving the attention by which they had not presumed to add the year from their memory and from their certain knowledge, although well-ascertained, because, nevertheless, it was not added in the original. Afterwards, however, in one or other of the later centuries, others less scrupulous entered by stealth who, from their genius whatever it be, added it (for it was considered unseemly to the whole Order for so fundamental a document to be ascribed to no year) before or after, just as a lesser knowledge of the true history and a greater concern was suggesting to each one, with the result that they were believed to have been given their Rule a long time before the Council by which the introduction of new Orders and new Rules was prohibited.[24] In whatever manner it might be, de Lezana, moved by the indignity of the thing, said:

> Since they are not afraid to add in the exemplar what is not visible in the Register, those who added the date to the said Bull given together with the Rule of Innocent are by no means to be corrected but struck off from the roll.[25]

Which judgement I myself allow to be made of the very many similar deceits by authors, in part already convicted and, in part, by authors who would join the others as needing to be convicted in succession. Would that it were not by one example only that the learned de Lezana acted more cautiously in receiving the other narratives! It was probably the remaining narratives by those holding back little or nothing concern-

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[23] [75] *Potius dixisset, non oblivionem fuisse, sed observantiam, qua annum, bene compertum licet, quia tamen non erat additus in originali, addere ex sua memoria certaque scientia non præsumpserunt: postea autem uno alterove seculo prærerito, subintrasse minus religiosos alios, qui ex suo quique ingenio (nam turpe videbatur tam fundamentali totius Ordinis instrumento nullum annum adscribi) eum adjecerint, anteriorem posterioremve, prout cuique suggerebat veræ historiæ scientia minor, & major solicitudo, ut diu ante Concilium, quo novi Ordines & novæ Regulæ induci prohibebantur, data sua Regula crederetur. Vt ut sit, rei indignitate commotus Lezana, Qui prædictam inquit, Innnocentii Bullam cum Regulæ data subscribunt, nedum corrigendi sed expungendi sunt, cum, quod in Registro non extat, in exemplari apponere non verentur: quam censuram ut plurium similium imposturarum auctoribus, partim jam convictis partim deinceps convincendis applicent alii, per me licet. Vtinam exemplo non uno doctus Lezana, cautiorem se geßisset, in ceteris novis narrationibus recipiendis! fortaßis superfluum duxisset implere tres tomos ab Elia ad Bertholdum, de rebus ad Ordinem suum (saltem ut est Ordo distinctus ab aliis Eremiticis) nihil aut perparum attinentibus.*

[24] The Fourth Lateran Council (1215), in other words.

[25] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:71 n. 7.

ing the matters [pertaining] to his Order (at least as it is an Order that is distinct from the other hermits) that had led [him] to fill the three tomes from Elijah to Berthold.[26]

76.[27] Further, as much in signing that as in signing other letters (if, nevertheless, the work was one with a legitimate signature), Albert used his customary seal of office, and it seems certain that this seal was similar to that being used in those times. Nor is it now to be explained, when the Heraldic science, as they call it, is considered to have been so diligently improved. Once it was not so, from which we are less astonished at Aubert Le Mire, treating concerning Albert in the *Fastis Belgicis* for November 21st, and at [Pietro] Tomasso Saraceni in the *Menologium*,[28] on account of admitting as genuine the embossed work of a certain silver coin having been brought from the Library of Philip II. On one side of this coin the distinguishing marks can be seen, the device from the Order of the Knights of Jerusalem and the nobility device of the Eremitanae family in Belgium assiduously brought together, and with two crosses (one of the Patriarch, the other of the Apostolic Legate) at the bottom together with a note of the year 1204, and circumscribed by 'Albert of Jerusalem'.[29] On the other face the city of Acre is represented, together with the following title, 'Jerusalem having been captured, transferred to the See of Acre, a coin of pilgrims'.[30] Behold the same:

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[26] This refers to the first three of the four volumes. See ibid.

[27] [76] *Porro tam in hac quam in aliis epistolis signandis (si tamen legitima signatione opus fuit) usum esse Albertum consueto muneris sui sigillo, & hoc illius temporis usui fuisse conforme, certum videtur; neque id nunc deberet explicari, quando ita diligenter exculta habetur Heraldica, quam vocant, scientia. Olim non ita erat; unde minus miramur Aubertum Miræum, in fastis Belgicis ad XXI Novembris agentem de Alberto, & Thomam Saracenum in Menologio, pro genuino admittere toreuma cujusdam argentei nummi, ex Philippi II Bibliotheca allati, in cujus una parte spectantur insignia, ex Ordinis Hierosolymitanorum equitum Tessera, & ex Tessera gentilitia familiæ Eremitanæ in Belgio industrie conflata, & crucibus duabus (altera Patriarchæ, altera Apostolici Legati) appodiata, cum nota anni MCCVI, & circumscripto, Albertus Hierosolymitanus: in aversa facie exprimitur urbs Accon, cum hoc lemmate, Hierosolyma capta, Sede Acconem translata, numus peregrinorum. Eccum ipsum.*

[28] See Le Mire, *Fasti Belgici et Burgundici. Aubertus Miræus Bruxellensis, Isabellæ Claræ Eugeniæ Serenissima Hisp. Infanti à Sacris Oratorij, & S. T. L. publicabat.*, 695-696; Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 263.

[29] *Albertus Hierosolymitanus.*

[30] *Hieros[olyma] a Sara[cenis] cap[ta], Sed[e] Acc[onem] trans[lata], numus peregrinor[um].*

Engraved silver pilgrims' coin, alleged to have been issued by Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem (1206-14).[31]

77.[32] By accepting that the error in that embossed work was to be overlooked, as I have said, Le Mire, who was the Chaplain and librarian of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, who were among those Princes favouring the Discalced Carmelites, since he was persuaded by the others that Albert was the grandson of Peter the Hermit, and that the See declared as having been then transferred was established, when, having been expelled from their See, the Patriarchs began to live in an alien city. He should, at least, not have easily had too much confidence that there were then too many other [such], that this coin had been among the rest at another time, neither one or the other of which, nevertheless, remains standing together with the truth. With the same readiness, I would censure the granting of the Indulgence by the Carmelites, seduced by the fraud of another,[33] but what will be done by [Pietro] Tomasso Saraceni and Valerio Ximénez [de Embún]? By these figments of the imagination[34] those ones built two [other Carmelite] cloisters, one 'erected in Jerusalem for the support of pilgrims, over which the Carmelites presided in the name of the Patriarch', the other 'for what was needed quickly by

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[31] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):787 n. 76.

[32] [77] *In hoc toreumate recipiendo commissus error ignosci, ut dixi, debet saltem Mireo; qui Archiducum Alberti & Isabellæ Sacellanus & bibliothecarius, gratiosis apud eosdem Principes Carmelitis Discalceatis nimium facile credidit, tum alia plura, tum hoc inter cetera; utpote persuasus ab illis fuisse Albertum Petri Eremitæ nepotem; & Sedem tunc translatam dici ratus est, quando aliena in urbe cœperunt habitare Patriarchæ, Sede sua pulsi, quorum tamen neutrum cum veritate subsistit. Eadem facilitate censerem dandam veniam Carmelitis, aliena fraude seductis: sed quid Thomæ Saraceno & Valerio Ximenez fiet? Hisce figmentis inædificarunt illi cœnobia duo, alterum erectum Hierosolymis in peregrinorum subsidium, cui Patriarchæ nomine præsidebant Carmelitæ; alterum Palestinæ initio, ab egressu maris, ad cito occurrendum peregrinis, in Judæam accurrentibus: in quorum testimonium, inquit Saracenus, extant numismata, quæ speciali cura peregrinis tradebantur, ne ab infidelibus, ex pactionibus jam habitis, quid mali moliretur in illos.*

[33] Papenbroeck censures the indulgent attitude by which the Carmelites accepted the fraudulent coin as legitimate.

[34] This refers, presumably, to the fabrication and acceptance of the coin, which became the basis of the claim that the Carmelites had cloisters dedicated to welcoming visiting pilgrims both at their point of arrival and in Jerusalem.

the pilgrims arriving in Judea at the entrance to Palestine from [their] coming forth out of the sea, in testimony of which', says Saraceni, 'coins are extant that were handed over by pilgrims for special care lest, out of already constituted covenants, something of evil on those ones would be attempted by the infidels.'[35]

78.[36] For as long as Albert lived, we have found no Carmelites outside [Mount] Carmel, unless perhaps near Antioch. We have found a genuine seal of Albert in column 1099 of book four of *Italiae sacrae*, concerning which Ughelli, about to bring it forth, had afterwards proclaimed that previous thing[37] to have been 'fabricated and an invention and in the smallest degree conformable to the truth', proceeding thus he gave the reason for the judgement:

> For it will not have come from the usage for those times that the crests of the nobility are added to the coins and tokens of the holy Presiders. I have in my possession other lead tokens of the Eastern Bishops of his age, having been pressed out with a rough and uncultivated style, where either the image of the Bishop or of the church of the Patron, together with the name of the same, alone is seen. The document of this Albert is in the archive of the diocese of Genoa, having been attested under his leaden seal and under [the seal] of Walter of Acre, having been given at Acre in the year 1212. Since the erudite Canon of Genoa, Augustinus Calcagninus, had sent its exemplar to me from Rome, I have asked a friend attracted to the object by [its] antiquity that, having been pressed out exactly

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[35] See Valerio Ximénez de Embún O.Carm., *Estimulo a la devocion de la antigua orden de nuestra Senora del Carmen, y la Historia...* (Zaragoza: Por Angelo Tauanno, 1604), 207r; Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 263 n. 25.

[36] [78] *Nos quamdiu Albertus vixit nullos extra Carmelum Carmelitas invenimus, nisi forte prope Antiochiam: invenimus autem genuinum Alberti sigillum tom. 4 Italiæ sacræ col. 1099, de quo acturus Vghellus, postquam prius illud, commentitium & adinventum atque veritati minime accommodatum pronuntiasset, reddit sententiæ rationem, sic prosequens; Non enim illis temporibus usu venerat, ut in numismatis Præsulumque sacrorum signis stemmata gentilitia apponerentur. Habeo apud me aliqua ejus ævi Orientalium Episcoporum plumbea signa, rudi & inculto stylo expressa, ubi vel imago Episcopi, vel Patroni ecclesiæ, una cum nomine ejusdem, tantum videtur. Extat in archivio Januensis ecclesiæ Alberti hujus Patriarchæ documentum, plumbeo ejus signo alteroque Gualteri Acconensis obsignatum, datum Accone anno MCCXII. Cujus exemplar cum mihi Romam misisset Augustinus Calcagninus, eruditus Canonicus Januensis, rei vetustatæ [sic. vetustate?] allectus amicum rogavi, ut ex cera Alberti Gualterique signa, ad amussim expressa, mihi transmitteret: quod ille summa humanitate egit, meamque opplevit curiositatem. Signum vidi, & in eo Sanctam Resurrectionem, A. ANACTACIC, Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ vetustum symbolum; & Alberti nomen exosculatus, illud incidi feci, & hic apponi curavi. Hactenus Vghellus, cujus imitatus sedulitatem idem rursus exhibeo.*

[37] This refers to the coin discussed in nn. 76-77.

from wax, he would have sent the seals of Albert and Walter to me. Which the same one did with the greatest kindness and fully satisfied my curiosity. I have seen the token and on it I have admired 'The Holy Resurrection (*A.*[38] *ANACTACIC)*' the ancient symbol of the Church of Jerusalem, and the name of Albert, that thing I had engraved and I have taken care to have it placed here.[39]

Thus far, Ughelli, imitating whose seal, I present the same again.

An engraving of Albert's seal as Patriarch of Jerusalem.[40]

79.[41] Could not the French author[42] have seen and read this matter of the Elijan succession and, since the life described by Ughelli, by its own interpretation, was alone worthy to confide in, judge, nevertheless, that the former engraved work was genuine, or did he not advert to the fact that, since Albert, being of Italian descent from the territory of Parma, is being implanted in the Eremitanae family in Belgium, the

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[38] Rather than the Latin 'A', the image (reproduced above) suggests that this should be the Latin 'H', representing the Greek letter theta, the aspirated form of which is the equivalent of the definite article.

[39] See Ferdinando Ughelli and Nicola Coleti, eds., *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiæ et insularum adjacentium, rebusque ab iis præclare gestis, deducta serie ad nostram usque ætatem*, 10 vols. (Venice: Apud Sebastianum Coleti, 1717-1722), 4:1099-1100.

[40] See ibid.

[41] [79] *Potuitne hæc videre & legere Elianæ succeßionis auctor Francicus; &, cum solam vitam ab Vghello descriptam sua interpretatione dignam censeret, nihilominus credere, prius toreuma genuinum esse; neque advertere, quod, cum ea ratione Eremitanæ in Belgio familiæ per necessariam consequentiam inseratur Albertus, nequeat subsistere veritas narrationis, Italum eum ex agro Parmensi facientis? Sed quid hunc aut alios miramur? Si crediderunt ista fuisse gentilitia Alberti insignia, crediderunt id pro eo tempore, quo istiusmodi tesserarum usus erat, saltem inter Milites, in torneamentis aliisque similibus actibus? Potius admirationem moveat Saracenus, qui post novem quæstiunculas fuse explicatas, eo fine ut lector tuto pede historias Carmelitanas percurrere valeat, repræsentat Divi Dionysii Papæ vetus Pontificium insigne, quale a Lucio Belga accepit, omißis dumtaxat ornamentis decussatarum clavium ac triplicis tiaræ, fortaßis quia sciebat horum usum esse recentius inductum. Sed qui eum hoc docuit, poterat etiam docuisse, tesseraria scuta non habuisse Pontifices antiquos, sigilla vero eorum aut crucem aut Apostolorum Petri & Pauli vultus fuisse, cum inscriptione nominis, qualia Ciacconius & Baronius non uno loco repræsentant.*

[42] Aubert Le Mire.

truthfulness of the narrative cannot be a necessary consequence? But what astonishes us in this one or in others? If they believed that these distinguishing marks were those of the noble family of Albert, did they believe it on account of that time in which use was made of devices of this kind in tournaments and in other similar activities, at least among the Military? Saraceni would better inspire admiration, the one who, after having explained at length nine trifling enquiries[43] to the effect 'that the reader' would be able 'to look over' the Carmelite 'histories on a secure footing', depicts the old Pontifical badge of office 'of the Godlike Dionysius, the Pope', which he received from Luci the Belgian[44] having omitted only the trappings of the crossed keys and of the triple tiara,[45] perhaps because he was aware their use was introduced more recently. But the one who taught him this thing might also have taught him that the ancient Popes did not have shields as devices; their seals, in truth, were either a cross or the portrait of the Apostles Peter and Paul together with the inscription of the name, such as Chacón[46] and Baronius[47] represent [them] in more than one place.

80.[48] Luci the Belgian was not so shameless that, from this distinguishing mark, he would assert that Dionysius used it but, just as Chacón

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[43] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 55-112. Here, and in the remainder of the sentence, the use of italics to indicate direct quotation has been interpreted in the light of the actual text being cited.

[44] See ibid., 111-112.

[45] See Luci O.Carm., *Carmelitana Bibliotheca, sive illustrium aliquot Carmelitanæ religionis scriptorum et eorum operum catalogus*, 32.

[46] See Alfonso Chacón OP, *Vitae, et res gestae pontificum romanorum et S.R.E. Cardinalium ab initio nascentis ecclesiae usque ad Clementem IX. P.O.M. Alphonsi Ciaconii Ordinis Praedicatorum & aliorum opera descriptae*, 2 vols. (Rome: Typis Vaticanis, 1630), 1:138, 316, 379-380, 2:1119.

[47] See Caesar Baronius, ed. *Annales ecclesiastici a Christo nato ad annum 1198*, 12 vols. (Rome: Typis Vaticana, 1588-1607), 9:691, 11:328.

[48] [80] *Non fuit tam impudens Lucius Belga, ut assereret hoc insigni usum Dionysium: sed uti sæpe Ciacconius, etiam ante inductum tesserarum istarum morem, anticipate tribuit Pontificibus tesseras, diu postea usurpari cœptas ab iis familiis, quæ ipsos sibi vindicabant; ita etiam ipse, libri ornandi causa dumtaxat, ex tesserario Ordinis scuto communi omnibus, unum ipsis proprie aptavit, superaddendo aliquid suæ de illis opinationi accommodum: & ut hic pro S. Dionysio (quem monachum credebat Hierosolymitanum fuisse) insigne Hierosolymitanæ militiæ, post recuperatam a Latinis urbem sanctam primum natæ, dicto scuto superimposuit; sic alibi Benedictum XII, quem absque ulla verisimilitudine Ordini suo adscribit, volens ut Francum exhibere, eidem scuto tria lilia addidit, uti infra expressum vides. Addidit etiam alia nunc solita usurpari scutorum Papalium ornamenta, Regnum scilicet, quod vocant, seu triplicem coronam, & Pontificias claves, utraque non valde vetusti principii. Melius quæsivisset vera ipsius Papæ Benedicti insignia, quæ in lapide Parisiis sculpta adhuc videre licet, & erant alba parmula in campo rubro, prout cœperat cum primum*

often [did], even before the habit of those devices was introduced, by anticipation, he attributed to the Pontiffs the devices having begun to be used a long time afterwards by those families, which things the same ones were formally demanding for themselves. Thus, only for the sake of the book needing to be embellished, from the Order's list of devices, the same one also adapted one from the same for the special shield common to all by adding by conjecture something suitable of his own concerning those things.[49] And, on account of St Dionysius (whom he believed had been a monk of Jerusalem), in order that the distinguishing mark of the Jerusalem military service, the first born after the holy city having been recovered by the Latins, might be in this place, he superimposed the said shield, thus, elsewhere wanting to present Benedict XII, whom as French, without any true likeness, he ascribes to his own Order, he added three lilies to the shield, as you see expressed below.

The insignia that Peter Luci O.Carm. alleged were those of Pope Benedict XII.[50]

He also added the other usual ornamentations of the shields of Popes that are now employed, that, you may know, are called the kingly government, or the triple crown and the Pontifical keys, both things not of a very ancient origin. It would be better had he sought the true distinguishing marks of the same Pope Benedict, which, carved in stone, one

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Cardinalis creatus est usurpare, in memoriam Ordinis Cisterciensis, unde assumptus passim Cardinalis Albus dicebatur.

[49] See Saraceni, , 111-112.

[50] See Luci O.Carm., *Carmelitana Bibliotheca, sive illustrium aliquot Carmelitanæ religionis scriptorum et eorum operum catalogus*, 1:787.

is still permitted to see in Paris and which were a little white shield on a red field, just as he began to use when he was first created a Cardinal in memory of the Cistercian Order, from which 'Cardinal white' was generally said to have been adopted.

81.[51] You have seen now that the compositions of Luci astound the admirable genius of Saraceni, who, indeed, does not learn to use the creations prudently, but just as though dreaming in Parnassus,[52] and, in the meantime, offering [them] as unadulterated oracles 'from the genuine springs by a robust and consistent faith',[53] since I do not know among which narrators he had read that the Order of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, instituted by St James, the Brother of the Lord, made famous by Constantine the Great, had then been restored by those who recaptured the Holy Land.[54] By the antiquity of those Knights, he made the origin of the modern-day distinguishing marks equal [to them] in a fabricated manner, and, comparing the old age of the Carmelite distinguishing marks with these equally imaginary things, on account of that time, he says that 'it appears clearly that the Godlike Dionysius publicly bore the distinguishing marks of that Order in the Pontificate'.[55] For, seeing that the Carmelite Order have a Breviary and Missal according to the usage of the Lord's Sepulchre, which was proper to the thus named Congregation of the Canons Regular, he deems [himself] to be persuaded 'with no trouble' that 'the distinguishing marks ... already from the times of St Dionysius the Pope, you may be sure, in the third century of Christ,

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[51] [81] *Lucii conceptiones vidisti, nunc obstupesce admirabile Saraceni ingenium, qui nec fictionibus quidem sobrie uti novit; sed velut in Parnasso somnians, ac mera interim oracula, ex genuinis fontibus robusta & constanti fide, proferens, cum nescio apud quos fabulatores legisset Equitum sacri Sepulchri Ordinem a S. Iacobo Fratre Domini institutum, a Constantino magno illustratum, denique a Terræ-sanctæ recuperatoribus restauratum fuisse; commentitiæ Equitum istorum antiquitati parem fecit insignium hodiernorum originem; & hæc cum æque imaginaria, pro tempore illo, insignium Carmeliticorum vetustate comparans, liquido apparere ait, D. Dionysium istius Ordinis insignia publice in Pontificatu extulisse. Nam quoniam Ordo Carmelitanus Breviarium & Missale habet juxta usum Dominici Sepulcri, qui Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis sic nominatæ fuit proprius; nullo negotio suaderi putat, Carmelitis & iis qui ad Sepulcrum Domini deserviebant communia fuisse insignia; jam inde scilicet a S. Dionisii Papæ temporibus, seculo Christi III.*

[52] Dante's *The Divine Comedy* describes the Latin poet, Virgil, as remaining on the very threshold of Christian enlightenment using the phrase '*dreaming in Parnassus* of the earthly Paradise', see *Purgatorio* 28.141. Here, presumably, it is intended to suggest that Saraceni was close to, but did not quite achieve, what all were seeking.

[53] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, preface.

[54] See ibid., 113.

[55] See ibid.

had, thereafter, been common'[56] to the Carmelites and to those who were zealously serving at the Sepulchre of the Lord.

82.[57] You want to know the origin of the Carmelite device? I myself will not delay you greatly, nor will I [delay to] show that military convocations and challenges to combat having begun to be celebrated around the year 1,000[58] for the delight and, at the same time, for the training of the nobility, in which while each of the Princes desires to distinguish himself and those who were his from the others, so great a diversity of heroic devices gradually appeared. Claude-François Ménestrier, a most learned man of our Society[59] long since acknowledged by more than one proof, will mostly clearly illustrate the entire history of this matter. I will say only that, for a long time, there is and was a certain kind of distinguishing mark, the shield of which would be divided into three parts which were in this manner, as from the point that was uppermost and in the middle of the shield two curved lines flowed down towards the sides, and they represent the form of 'capes' or 'mantles' having been tied together towards the neck and having been drawn back below. The Span-

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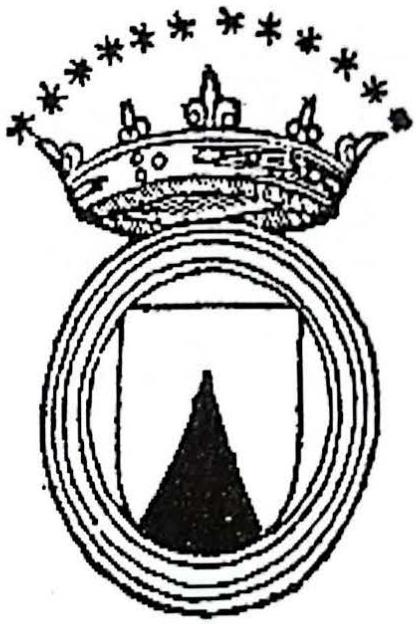
[56] See ibid. The use of italics to indicate direct quotations has been interpreted here in the light of the actual text cited.

[57] [82] *Scire vis Carmeliticæ tesseræ principium? Non ego te multis demorabor, nec ostendam circa annum millesimum celebrari cœptas convocationes ac provocationes militares, ad oblectationem simul & exercitationem nobilitatis; in quibus dum se suosque singuli Principum cupiunt discernere ab aliis, paulatim orta sit tanta diversitas heroicarum tesserarum. Vniversam hujus rei historiam clarißime illustrabit Franciscus Claudius Menestrier Societatis nostræ vir eruditißimus, specimine non uno pridem notus. Solum dicam, genus quoddam insignium esse & fuisse pridem, quæ scutum suum partiantur trifariam, ita ut ex summo & medio scuti puncto duæ lineæ incurvæ ad latera defluant, & cappæ seu mantelli ad collum adstricti atque deorsum reducti formam referant; Hispani, Armas en Mantel, appellant; Franci, des Armoiries chappees, idest, Arma sub mantello, seu Cappata insignia. Cum autem ejusmodi tesserarum usus etiam Ecclesiastico Ordini placere cœpisset, primi in Hispania Dominicani, post annum MCCCC aut serius, habitus sui colorem assumpsere pro tessera, pallium nigrum albæ tunicæ superponentes. Mox etiam ad Carmelitas exemplum transiit, quibus similis scuti pingendi facultatem præbebat similis varietas colorum, sed inverso ordine dispositorum. Et initio quidem nudum erat aliis ornamentis scutum, quale videre est ante Constitutiones Ordinis anno MCCCCXCIX excusas, & in fronte Chronicæ Carmelitanæ impressæ Placentiæ anno MDXCV auctore Iosepho Falcone Italice. Postea, sicut Prædicatores scutum suum ornaverunt symbolis quibusdam ad S. Dominicum pertinentibus; ita etiam Carmelitæ, primum duabus, deinde tribus stellis (quarum significationem explicabunt ipsi) haud inconcinne distinxerunt. Carmelitæ autem discalceati, aperturam pallii ornaverunt crucula, qua se ab iis, quos Mitigatos vocant, judicabant apte secernendos. Rem oculis subjectam vide in schemate, & ipsum scutum, tam purum quam compositum, confer cum pectore Cermelitæ mantellati.*

[58] See Claude-François Ménestrier SJ, *Le véritable art du blason et la pratique des armoiries depuis leur institution* (Lyons: Chez Benoît Coral, 1659), 235-236.

[59] The Jesuits.

iards call them *'Armas en Mantel'*, the French *'des Armoiries chappees'*, that is, 'Arms under a mantle' or 'Caped distinguishing marks'. Since, however, the use of devices of this kind began to please even the Ecclesiastical Order, the first Dominicans in Spain, after the year 1400 or later, adopted the colour of their habit as a device, putting a black cloak over a white tunic. Soon the example also passed over to the Carmelites, for whom the possibility of a similar painted shield was offering a similar variety of colours, but arranged in the reverse order. And, from the beginning, indeed, the shield was stripped of all trappings, see of what kind it is in front of the Constitutions of the Order by the Italian author Giuseppe Falcone in the year 1595:



The Carmelite crest Giuseppe in Giuseppe Falcone's *La cronica Carmelitana* (1595).[60]

Afterwards, just as the Preachers decorated their shield with certain symbols belonging to St Dominic, in the same way the Carmelites, by no means inelegantly, also adorned [theirs], at first by two, finally by three stars (whose significance the same will explain). The Discalced Carmelites, however, decorated the opening of the cloak with a little cross, by which they aptly judged themselves to be needing to be distinguished

[60] See Giuseppe Falcone, *La cronica carmelitana dall'origine di Santo Elia Profeta all di oggi; col progresso di tempo in tempo pp. insieme con la vita attioni, et morte de tutti gli suoi Rmi. Generali pp. di nuova posta in luce dal R. P. M. Giuseppe Falcone* (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1595).

from the others, whom they called the Mitigated.[61] See the thing having been subjected to the eye in the figure, and compare the same shield, both unadorned and having been opposed, with the mantled chest of a Carmelite:

Papenbroeck's 1675 diagram showing the presumed original (on the left) and the later form (on the right) of the Carmelite crest.[62]

[61] Although already described by Papenbroeck in the 1675 dossier, Bascapè and del Piazzo present this addition as taking place during the 1700s, see Giacomo C. Bascapè and Marcello del Piazzo, *Insegne e simboli. Araldica pubblica e privata medievale e moderna* (Rome: Ministero per i bene culturali e ambientali, 1983), 356-57. There seems to be reason to question Papenbroeck's claim, however, since Marco Antonio Alegre de Casanate O.Carm. put a crest with such a cross on the title page of a book published in 1639: Alegre de Casanate, *Paradisus Carmelitici decoris*. Luigi Morgari's late nineteenth-century portrait of Albert in the cathedral at Bobbio seems both to associate the Carmelite crest with Albert's Carmelite habit and the cross in the crest with the Patriarchal cross on Albert's pallium.

[62] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)* , 9 (Apr I):788.

Chapter 9

The Breviary from the Usage of the Holy Sepulchre Prescribed by Albert in the Rule for the Hermits, of What Kind it Had Been, of What Kind the Martyrology.[1]

The same things concerning the [canonical] hours [that] St Francis prescribes, Bl. Albert also prescribes; the consideration of the daily prayer by the Latin hermits, without exception; others will have seen how they[2] link those [hermits] with the older [hermits]. Canons were established for the Sepulchre of the Lord, first the seculars then the regulars, to which ones the order of the Churches of the French and Belgians is prescribed, and this, also common to the Carmelites and the Knights of Rhodes, and having separately been increased on account of each one, is the usage of the Lord's Sepulchre. But, all the more distinguished Saints of Syria having been dismissed by the Carmelites, others less suited were added by those very ones. That that usage, truly, was taken up by the French and Belgian churches is proved from the arrangement of the Psalter, by the antiphons from Trinity, from the Office during Advent, from the Gospels of the Sundays after Pentecost, to be without any vestige or shadow of the pilgrim rite. The martyrology of the Carmelites, also, is the same as that of the Canons Regular in Gaul, and in it, having been added more recently, the feast of St Joseph is found.[3]

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[1] *CAPUT IX. Breviarium ex usu sancti Sepulcri, Eremitis ab Alberto præscriptum in Regula, quale fuerit; quale Martyrologium.*

[2] This probably refers to what has just been said about the canonical hours and about daily prayer.

[3] *Eadem quæ de Horis S. Franciscus, etiam præcipit B. Albertus, orationis quotidianæ pensum Eremitis pure Latinis: eos qualiter cum antiquioribus connectant, viderint alii. Ad sepulcrum Domini instituuntur Canonici, primum seculares tum regulares, quibus præscribitur ordo Ecclesiarum Franc. & Belgic., & hic est usus Dominici Sepulchri, etiam Carmelitis & Equit. Rhodiis communis, & seorsim auctus pro singulis. Sed a Carmelitis, illustriores omnes Sanctos Syriæ dimittentibus, additi alii minus ipsis apti. Usum istum vere ab ecclesiis Franc. & Belg. esse desumptum, probatur ex dispositione Psalterii, Antiphonis de Trinitate, Officio per Adventum, Euangeliis Dominicarum post Pentecosten, sine ullo vestigio aut umbra ritus peregrini. Martyrologium quoque Carmeliticum, idem est quod Canonicorum Regul. in Gallia, & in eo invenitur S. Iosephi festum recentius additum.*

83.[4] At the same time in which Albert wrote that brief Rule for the Hermits living at the spring in Syria, Francis, the founder of the Seraphic Order,[5] also wrote his, by divine influence having an equal office for a remarkable future grandeur and for the disagreement of those needing to oppose,[6] which [Rule] he also had confirmed by Innocent III in the year 1211. In this [Rule], chapter three prescribes thus: 'The Clerics should do... the Office... according to the custom of the Clerics, the lay members', to be sure, 'should say the "I Believe in God" and twenty-four Our Fathers, together with the "Glory be to the Father" ... for Terce, Sext... None', for whichever of those [hours] it pleases seven 'Our Father's together with the 'Glory be to the Father', 'for Vespers', however, 'twelve; for Compline... seven' and the 'I believe in God' together with the 'Glory be to the Father'.[7] Article six of the Albertine Rule agrees to this arrangement in this way:

> Those who know [their] letters and [how] to read the psalms should say those that have been allotted for each of the hours by the arrangement of the Holy Fathers and the approved custom of the Church, at each of the hours. Those, however, who do not know [their] letters are to say the Our Father twenty-five times for the night vigil... But the same prayer is to be said seven times for the morning praises [Matins]. Also for the other hours, one by one, similarly, the same prayer is to be said seven times, except for the evening office, for which you ought to say it fifteen times.

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[4] [83] *Eodem tempore, quo Albertus in Syria Eremitis ad fontem morantibus brevem istam scripsit Regulam, scripsit etiam suam Seraphici Ordinis fundator Franciscus, futuræ amplitudini divinitus monstratæ & munerum obeundorum diversitati parem, quam etiam obtinuit anno MCCXI ab Innocentio III confirmari. In hac cap. 3 sic præcipit: Clerici faciant Officium secundum consuetudinem Clericorum: laici vero dicant Credo in Deum, & viginti quatuor Pater noster, cum Gloria Patri, pro Tertia, Sexta, Nona, pro qualibet istarum septem Pater noster cum Gloria Patri: pro Vesperis autem duodecim, pro Completorio septem: & Credo in Deum cum Gloria Patri. Huic ordinationi consonat Albertinæ Regulæ artic. 6 in hunc modum, Hi qui litteras noverunt & legere Psalmos, per singulas horas eas dicant, qui, ex institutione sanctorum Patrum & Ecclesiæ approbata consuetudine, ad Horas singulas sunt deputati: qui vero litteras non noverunt, viginti quinque vicibus dicant Pater noster in nocturnis vigiliis... septies autem eadem dicatur oratio in Laudibus Matutinis: in aliis quoque Horis septies similiter eadem singulatim dicatur oratio; præter Officia Vespertina, in quibus ipsam quindecies dicere debeatis. Quam autem ridiculum foret ablegare S. Franciscum ad Regulam S. Basilii aut similem aliam, ex qua ista sumpserit; ita absurdum erit credere aliud spectasse Albertum, quam ut vivendi normam, Eremitis, quales in Europa cognoverat, congruam, delinearet.*

[5] The Franciscans.

[6] Papenbroeck recognises the parallel roles of St Albert with respect to the Carmelites and of St Francis with respect to the Franciscans.

[7] See St Francis of Assisi, *Regula non bullata*, 3.1, 10. Rather than following exactly the use of italics to indicate direct quotations, their use has been interpreted in the light of the actual text cited.

How ridiculous it would be, however, from those things he will have adopted in that place, to send St Francis off after the Rule of St Basil or another similar. Thus it will be absurd to believe that Albert looked to another thing than that he should delineate a suitable norm of living for Hermits of the kind that he will have known in Europe.

84.[8] It is, nevertheless, incredible that that company, which was then the whole Order, had increased out of people, not alone of the Latin rite, but also of the Greek and Syrian rite, although the Carmelites would seem to presume this, since, for explaining their Elijan succession, they endeavour to persuade that, under Berthold, their elders had lived, not according to the norm of European Hermits (who hold that they have nothing other than an example of the solitary life in Elijah) but from the discipline of those whom the same ones reckon to have sprung immediately from the Elijans. In the case of this linking, however, it needs to be demonstrated that, when the Carmelites themselves, whose names and testimonies constitute a long but insufficiently efficacious series, assert that they were being produced in every direction, the hinge is turned to an alleged antiquity, not denied by us, indeed, but neither through this thing is that which many will have trusted solidly proved by those ones before consideration in every direction. The example of Elijah and Elisha, according to which certain ones introduced the life on Carmel, says Jacques de Vitry,[9] was also something that had the Latins in view and, thus, the Carmelites rightly cultivate them as the Patrons of the Order. In order that they might be called also the Founders, it would be necessary

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[8] [84] *Nihilo minus incredibile est cœtum illum, qui tunc erat totus Ordo, coaluisse ex hominibus, non tantum Latini, sed etiam Græci & Syriaci ritus; quamvis hoc videantur præsumere Carmelitæ, cum ad explicandam suam Elianam succeßionem, persuadere nituntur, majores suos sub Bertholdo, non ad normam Eremitarum Europæorum (qui in Elia nihil aliud quam solitariæ vitæ exemplum habent) sed ex disciplina eorum vixisse, quos ipsi putant ab Elianis immediate fluxisse. In hac tamen connexione demonstranda cardo vertitur prætensæ antiquitatis; a nobis quidem non negatæ, sed nec ab illis solide probatæ per hoc, quod connexionem istam, ipsis Carmelitis eam asserentibus, citra examen paßim crediderint multi, quorum nomina & testimonia longo ordine, sed parum efficaci, paßim producuntur. Exemplum Eliæ & Elizæi, ad quod vitam aliquos in Carmelo instituisse dicit Iacobus de Vitriaco, etiam ad Latinos spectabat; & sic merito eos tamquam Patronos Ordinis colunt Carmelitæ. Vt etiam Fundatores dicantur, oporteret quod eorum successores fuerint Brocardo & sociis ejus saltem instructores atque magistri. Hic, hic, inquam, non in Veteri testamento usque ad Eliam, non in novo usque ad Christum, (de quibus, absque coævorum scriptorum auctoritate & testimonio, volentibus andabatarum more pugnare, gratis cedent quicumque nolent disputare de nomine) sed hic, in seculo Christi XII, adeo nobis propinquo, tot scriptorum monumentis illustrato, hic Rhodus est, hic saltus, qui exigitur; non altius promovendus quam usque ad principium istius seculi: sed o! quam difficilis!*

[9] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1:1075; de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*, 27.

that their successors had been at least the instructors and directors to Brocard and his companions. This,[10] I say, this is not without interruption as far as Elijah in the Old Testament, not without interruption as far as Christ in the New (concerning those willing to do battle in the manner of the Andabata,[11] without the authority and testimony of contemporary writers, they grant whatever concerning the name that they are unwilling to dispute), but this, having been illustrated by many records of writers in the twelfth century of Christ, so much do I draw near to us, not needing to promote it higher than as far as the beginning of that century, 'This is Rhodes, This is the jump'[12] that is needed, but, oh!, how difficult it is!

85.[13] Having reflected for twelve years and more[14] on this arena of the history needing to be illustrated, and the master[15] having attended to that same thing for fully forty years, on account of the singular desire of

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[10] The demonstrative here refers, presumably, to the claim that the successors of Elijah and Elisha were the instructors of Brocard and his companions and, therefore, to the claim of an Elijan succession.

[11] The Andabata were 'a kind of Roman gladiator, whose helmet was without opening for the eyes, and who therefore fought blindfolded for the amusement of spectators.' See Charlton T. Lewis, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), 117.

[12] See Desiderius Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades tres ac centuriae fere totidem* (Venice: Aldus Martius, 1508), 3.3.28. In Aesop's fable, 'The Boastful Athlete', where there were no witnesses to testify to the jump that an athlete claimed to have made in Rhodes, a bystander, using this phrase (Αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ Ῥόδος καὶ πήδημα), invited him to imagine that he was then in Rhodes and to repeat the jump.

[13] [85] *Annis duodecim & amplius in hac illustrandæ historiæ arena versatus, idque sub magistro annos ferme quadraginta idem agente, pro singulari desiderio gratificandi Ordini mihi carißimo, intentos semper habui oculos in omne fundandæ connexionis istius argumentum; annis autem his quatuor postremis aut quinque, nihil majori contentione egi, quam in illum finem scrutari omnia monumenta, historiam orientalem medii ævi concementia, uti apparebit in principio Maji ex Catalogo Patriarcharum Hierosolymitanorum, unico studii istius fructus. Verum quanto ea inspexi profundius, tanto magis desperare cœpi inventurum me quod tam ardenter cupiebam. Nihil vero ante ipsorum in Europam transitum scriptum reperiens, quo talis succeßio probaretur; nihil nunc in aliqua parte totius instituti inveniens, quod Græcorum aut monachorum aut eremitarum redoleat disciplinam (nam cellularum discretarum ratio, quæ veterum quandoque laurarum fuit, ex Camaldulensibus eremitis late per Italiam fusis & integro seculo prægreßis Bertholdi initia, pridem Europæis nostris nota fuit) nihil, inquam, tale inveniens, solum pronuntio, non liquere. Quam juste; planum erit, si intelligat Lector cujus Ecclesiæ fuerit approbata consuetudo, Brocardi sociis præscripta ab Alberto.*

[14] Since he was writing in 1675, the period in question began about 1663, four years after Papenbroeck joined Bolland and Henschen and dedicated himself to the writing of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

[15] Since 'fully forty years' refers back to 1635, the 'master' concerned must be Jean Bolland SJ, who had taken up the work on the same subject by the deceased Heribert Rosweyde about that time.

pleasing an Order that is very dear to me,[16] I always had eager eyes for every argument of that linking needing to be established.[17] In these last four or five years,[18] however, I have done nothing with a greater struggle than to examine thoroughly all the records concerning the eastern history of the Middle Ages to that end, as will appear from the Catalogue of the Patriarchs of Jerusalem in the first of May,[19] the fruit of this unique study. Certainly, so much as I have inspected those things more deeply, so much the more did I begin to despair that what I was so ardently desiring was about to be found. Discovering nothing written by which such a succession[20] might be proved before their crossing over to Europe, indeed, finding nothing now of the whole institute on the other side that might be redolent of the discipline of the Greeks or of the monks or of the hermits (for the fashion of the separated cells, which was that of the old lauras at one time or other, was known a long time ago by our Europeans from the Camaldolese Hermits scattered widely throughout Italy and having preceded the beginning of Berthold by a whole century). Finding, I say, nothing of such a kind, I make it publicly known that it was not resolved.[21] How just it was will be clear if the Reader would understand of whose diocese the 'approved [liturgical] custom' prescribed by Albert for the companions of Brocard had been.[22]

86.[23] In the Breviary composed for the Carmelites of old, this title is affixed before the Office of the Propers concerning Advent:

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[16] The Order in question would seem to be the Carmelite Order.

[17] The Elijan succession of the Carmelites.

[18] This refers to the period 1670-75, approximately.

[19] This refers to the third volume of the *Acta Sanctorum* for May, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):i-lxxii.

[20] The linking of the Carmelites to Elijah by means of a succession.

[21] This refers, presumably, to Papenbroeck's failure to find any convincing 'argument of that linking needing to be established' that is mentioned earlier in this paragraph.

[22] Here, the 'other side' seems to refer to Palestine and its environs, from which the Carmelites had crossed over to Europe.

[23] [86] *Antiquitus excuso Carmelitarum Breviario, ante Officium proprium de Adventu, hic præponitur titulus: Incipit Breviarium secundum Ordinem Fratrum gloriosæ Virginis Mariæ de monte Carmeli, extractum & excerptum de approbato usu Dominici Sepulcri Hierosolymitanæ sanctæ Ecclesiæ, in cujus finibus dictorum Fratrum Religio sumpsit exordium. Eadem fere verba habentur ante Rubricas Generales, Incipit Ordinale Horarum Canonicarum Fratrum &c. Eadem dicuntur haberi in Ordinali Missarum excuso Venetiis MDIX & MDLI. Quinam autem sunt illi, quibus Dominici Sepulcri custodia & Officiorum divinorum ibidem peragendorum demandata fuit cura? Audiamus Tyrium, rebus gestis proximum. Cum libro 9 descripßisset quomodo regnum Hierosolymitanum fuerit Godefrido Bullionio delatum, cap. 9 sic loquitur: Postquam igitur regnum obtinuit, paucis diebus interpositis, sicut vir religiosus erat, in his quæ ad decorem domus Dei habebant respectum, solicitudinis suæ cœpit offerre primitias. Nam protinus in ecclesia Dominici Sepulcri & Templo Domini Canonicos*

> The Breviary according to the Order of the Brothers of the Glorious Virgin Mary from the mountain of Carmel begins, released and gathered from the usage of the Lord's Sepulchre of the Holy Church of Jerusalem, within whose boundaries the Religion of the said Brothers received a beginning.

Before the General Rubrics they have almost the same words, 'The Ordinal of the Hours of the Brother Canons begins' etc.[24] They are said to have those same in the Ordinal of Masses released in Venice in 1509 and 1551.[25] Who then, however, are those ones to whom was committed the custody of the Lord's Sepulchre and the care of the divine Offices needing to be executed in the same place? Let us hear [William of] Tyre, the nearest to the matters transacted. Since in book nine he had described how the kingdom of Jerusalem had been conferred on Godfrey of Bouillon, chapter nine speaks thus:

> After he obtained the kingdom, therefore, a few days having passed, as he was a religious man in those things that have regard for the comeliness of the house of God, he began to offer the first fruits of his solicitude. For he immediately instituted Canons in the church of the Lord's Sepulchre and in the Temple of Lord ... serving the order and the institution that was founded by pious Princes, they serve the great and most renowned church beyond the mountains.[26]

87.[27] In book 11, chapter 15, concerning Patriarch Arnulf, it is asked of the same Tyre that 'he might completely change the Order that

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instituit... ordinem & institutionem servans quas magnæ & amplissimæ, a piis Principibus fundatæ, ultra montes servant ecclesiæ.

[24] See O.Carm., ed. *Breviarium iuxta ordinale novarumque ordinationum stilum fratrum sacri ordinis gloriosissimae dei genitricis semperque virginis mariae de monte Carmeli* (Venice: Bartholomaeus de Blavis & soc., 1481), 1.

[25] See Benedict Mary of the Cross Zimmerman OCD, *Ordinaire de l'Ordre de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel par Sibert de Beka (vers 1312) publié d'après le manuscrit original et collationné sur divers manuscrits et imprimés* (Paris: Picard, 1910), 1; O.Carm., *Missal 1551*; *Missal 1509*.

[26] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 767 (2.9.9).

[27] [87] *Idem Tyrius lib. 11 cap. 15, de Arnulpho Patriarcha queritur, quod Ordinem, quem primi Principes studiose & cum multa deliberatione instituerant, Canonicos Regulares introducendo, commutarit. Creatus est autem Patriarcha Arnulphus anno MCXI. Ad hanc commutationem consequenter Iacobus de Vitriaco scribit lib. 1 cap. 58. Patriarchalis ecclesia, quæ est Dominici Sepulcri sub monte Calvariæ, Canonicos habet Regulares, secundum habitum & regulam B. Augustini viventes: habent autem Priorem, ad quem cum prædictis Canonicis pertinet eligere Patriarcham, qui est eis loco Abbatis. In ecclesiis autem Templi Domini & montis Sion, & montis Oliveti sunt Abbates & Canonici, secundum Regulam prædictam S. Augustini Domino ministrantes. Inter hos, Vrbe a Saracenis capta profugos, vivebat Albertus Accone, ibidemque in divinis Officiis servabat usum sancti Sepulcri: quem multi tum in Gallia tum in Belgio recepe-*

the first Princes zealously and with much deliberation instituted by introducing Canons Regular.'[28] In the year 1111,[29] however, Arnulf was created Patriarch. Consequently, Jacques de Vitry writes concerning this complete change in book one, chapter 58:

> The Canons Regular, living according to the habit and rule of Bl. Augustine, hold the Patriarchal church, which is [that] of the Lord's Sepulchre under mount Calvary. They have a Prior, however, to whom it belongs, together with the said Canons, to elect the Patriarch, who is for them in the place of an Abbot. In the churches of the Temple of the Lord and of Mount Sion and of Mount Olivet, however, there are Abbots and Canons, ministering to the Lord according to the said Rule of St Augustine.[30]

Albert lived at Acre among these having fled when the city was captured by the Saracens and in the same place he observed the usage of the Holy Sepulchre in the divine Offices. Having been instructed by those returning from the Holy Land, many Canons then in Gaul, again in Belgium, received that usage and, the Congregation of the Canons of the Holy Sepulchre having been thus instituted, it gave back to Europe what it had received from there, together with an exceedingly slight alteration. Thus, as in the diocese of Utrecht alone (whose Breviary we will investigate a little later) there had been twenty-four houses of the Regulars of that kind, and, altogether, seven houses of the Nuns of the same Congregation.

88.[31] We have a model of the Office adopted by the same ones in a manuscript written more than three hundred years ago, the title to which

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runt, edocti a Canonicis e Terra-sancta redeuntibus, & sic instituta Congregatio Canonicorum sacri Sepulcri, reddidit Europæ, quod inde acceperat, cum exigua valde mutatione; adeo ut in sola Vltrajectina diœcesi (cujus Breviarium paulo post allegabimus) fuerint domus Regularium istiusmodi viginti quatuor, & Sanctimonalium ejusdem Congregationis omnino septem.

[28] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 805 (2.11.15).

[29] Having served briefly as Patriarch in 1099, it was actually in 1112 that Arnulf became Patriarch for the second time.

[30] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 1:1078; de Vitry, *History of Jerusalem*, 35.

[31] [88] *Specimen autem Officii ab illis usurpati habemus in Ms. plusquam a trecentis annis exarato, cui titulus, Incipit Matutinale temporis hiemalis, secundum normam legendi in ecclesia Dominici Sepulcri. Continentur autem in hoc Ms. æque ac in præcitato Carmelitarum excuso Breviario, festa Episcoporum sanctorum Ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ, scilicet Matthiæ Episc. & Conf. III kal. Februarii, Simeonis Ep. & Mart. XII kal. Martii, Alexandri Ep. & Mart. XV kal. Aprilis, Quiriaci Ep. & Mart. IV Nonas Maji; & IV kal. Novembris, Narcissi Ep. & Conf. Continet præterea utrumque Breviarium ex Sanctis Gallicanarum & Belgicarum provinciarum præcipuos aliquos, videlicet memoriam SS. Hilarii & Remigii Idibus Ianuarii, Vedasti & Amandi VIII Idus Februarii, Albini Ep. & Conf. kalendis Martii, Translationis S.*

is: *The Matins of the Winter times according to the norm of reading in the church of the Lord's Sepulchre begins*. The feasts of the holy Bishops of the Jerusalem Church, you may be sure: of Matthew, Bishop and Confessor, on the third day counting back from the calends of February;[32] of Simeon, Bishop and Martyr, on the twelfth day counting back from the calends of March;[33] of Alexander, Bishop and Martyr, on the fifteenth day counting back from the calends of April;[34] of Quiriacus, Bishop and Martyr, on the fourth day counting back from the nones of May[35] and of Narcissus, Bishop and Confessor, on the fourth day counting back from the calends of November,[36] are contained equally in this manuscript and in the already mentioned Breviary composed for the Carmelites.[37] In addition, both the Breviaries from the provinces of Gaul and Belgium contain other distinguished ones, naturally the memory: 'of Saints Hilary and Remy' on the ides of January;[38] 'of Vedastus and Amand' on the eighth day counting back from the ides of February;[39] 'of Albinus, Bishop and Confessor', on the calends of March;[40] of the Translation of St Martin on the fourth day count-

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Martini IV kal. Iulii, Germani Ep. pridie kal. Augusti, Ægidii Abb. kal. Septembris, Lamberti Ep. & Mart. XV kal. Octobris, Remigii Ep. & aliorum kal. Octobris, Dionysii Ep. & sociorum Martyrum VIII Idus Octobris, Sanctarum undecim mille Virginum XII kal. Novembris, Leonardi Confessoris VIII Idus Novembris, ac demum SS. Abraham, Isaac & Jacob III Nonas Octobris, & S. Lazari a Christo resuscitati XVI kalen. Ianuarii. Qui quidem omnes Sancti etiam coluntur ab Ordine Equitum S. Ioannis Hierosolymitani, postmodum in Rhodum ac demum in Melitam translato, uti nobis constat ex Missali eorum ante annum MDV excuso.

[32] In modern terms, January 30th. On Bishop Matthew I of Jerusalem (119-120), see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 2 (Jan II):1025-1026.

[33] In modern terms, February 18th. On Bishop Simeon I of Jerusalem (62-107), see ibid., 5 (Feb III):53-55.

[34] In modern terms, March 18th. On Bishop Alexander of Jerusalem (213-251), see ibid., 7 (Mar II):614-617.

[35] In modern terms, May 4th. On Bishop Judas Quiriacus of Jerusalem (134-148), see ibid., 13 (May I):439-451.

[36] In modern terms, October 28th. On Bishop Narcissus of Jerusalem (183-212), see *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 60:782-790.

[37] On the parallels in terms of the Bishops of Jerusalem that were celebrated between the Holy Sepulchre and Carmelite Breviaries, see James Boyce O.Carm., "The Development of the Feasts of the Carmelite Liturgy," in *Fons et Culmen Vitae Carmelitanae. Proceedings of the Carmelite Liturgical Seminar S. Felice del Benaco 13-16 June 2006*, Textus et Studia Historical Carmelitana (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1997), 105-142: 113-114.

[38] In modern terms, January 13th. On St Hilary of Poitiers (c. 315-368), see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 1 (Jan I):782-803. On St Remy of Rheims (437-533), see ibid., 2 (Jan II):235-236.

[39] In modern terms, February 6th. On St Vedastus of Arras (453-540), see ibid., 3 (Feb I):782-815. On St Amand (c. 584-675), see ibid., 3 (Feb I):815-903.

[40] In modern terms, March 1st. On St Albinus of Angers (c. 470-550), see ibid., 6 (Mar I):54-63.

ing back from the calends of July;[41] 'of Germanus, Bishop', the day before the calends of August;[42] 'of Aegidius, Abbot', on the calends of September;[43] 'of Lambert, Bishop and Martyr', on the fifteenth day counting back from the calends of October;[44] 'of Remy, Bishop, and others' on the calends of October;[45] 'of Denis, Bishop, and his associates, Martyrs', on the eighth day counting back from the ides of October,[46] 'of the eleven thousand Holy Virgins' on the twelfth day counting back from the calends of November,[47] 'of Leonard, Confessor', on the eighth day counting back from the ides of November,[48] and, at last, 'of the Saints Abraham, Isaac and Jacob' on the third day counting back from the nones of October,[49] and 'of St Lazarus resurrected by Christ' on the sixteenth day before the calends of January.[50] All which Saints, indeed, are also honoured by the Order of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem, transferred to Rhodes a little later and, at last, to Malta, established by us from their Missal composed before the year 1505.[51]

89.[52] To these feasts common to the Regulars, the Knights and the Carmelites, each added some proper to their own Order 'according to

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[41] In modern terms, June 28th. Since the Translation of St Martin of Tours (316-397) was celebrated on July 4th, the 'IV *kal. Iulii*' should probably have been 'IV *non. Iulii*'. See ibid., 28 (Jul II):4.

[42] In modern terms, July 31th. On St Germanus of Auxerre (378-448), see ibid., 33 (Jul VII):184-304.

[43] In modern terms, September 1st. On St Aegidius/Giles (c. 650-c. 710), see ibid., 43 (Sep I):284-304.

[44] In modern terms, September 17th. On St Lambert (c. 635-c. 700), see ibid., 47 (Sep V):518-617.

[45] In modern terms, October 1st. On St Remy (c. 635-c. 700), see ibid., 49 (Oct I):59-187.

[46] In modern terms, October 8th. On St Denis of Paris (c. c. 250), see ibid., 52 (Oct IV):564.

[47] In modern terms, October 21st. The tradition of a feast celebrating 11,000 virgins is based on a (perhaps fifth century) inscription in stone in the choir of the church of St Ursula in Cologne describing eleven thousand virgin martyrs. See *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 57 (Oct IX):73-318.

[48] In modern terms, November 6th. On the Carmelite feast of St Leonard of Noblac (d. 559) on November 6th, see Boyce O.Carm., "The Development of the Feasts of the Carmelite Liturgy," 114.

[49] In modern terms, October 5th. On the Carmelite feast of Saints Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, see ibid., 114, 116.

[50] In modern terms, December 17th. On the Carmelite feast of St Lazarus, see ibid., 114, 116-117.

[51] See Eustace A. Alliott, ed. *The Rhodes Missal: A commentary* (London: Order of St John, 1980).

[52] [89] *Ad hæc, Regularibus, Equitibus, & Carmelitis communia festa, secundum normam legendi in ecclesia Dominici Sepulcri, addiderunt singuli proprios aliquos sui Ordinis: Regulares videlicet in diœcesi Vltrajectina, festum liberationis civitatis Jerusalem pridie Idus Iulii, S.*

the norm of reading in the church of the Lord's Sepulchre': The Regulars in the diocese of Utrecht added: 'the feast of the liberation of the city of Jerusalem' on the day before the ides of July;[53] 'of St Pontian', the Patron of Utrecht on the twenty-first day counting back from the calends of February;[54] 'of Gertrude the Virgin' on the sixteenth day counting back from the calends of April;[55] 'of Odulphus the Confessor' on the day before the ides of June;[56] 'of Cordula, Virgin and Martyr', on the eleventh day counting back from the calends of November;[57] 'of Willibrord, Bishop', on the eighth day counting back from the ides of November;[58] 'of Servatius, Bishop', on the third day counting back from the ides of May,[59] 'or Lebuinus, Confessor', on the day before the ides of November;[60] and 'of St Augustine'[61] with an octave, just as it is celebrated by all the Canons

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Pontiani Patroni Vltrajectini XIX kal. Febr. Gertrudis Virg. XVI kal. Aprilis, Odulphi Conf. pridie Idus Iunii, Cordulæ Virg & Mart. XI kal. Novembris, Willibrordi Ep. VII Idus Novembris, Servatii Ep. III Idus Maji, Lebuini Conf. pridie Idus Novembris, & S. Augustini cum Octava, prout ab omnibus Canonicis Regularibus ubique terrarum celebrabatur. Rhodiensium peculiares Sancti, eorum kalendario inscripti, sunt, V Idus Martii Martyres XL Jerusalem, quorum corpora habebantur Rhodi, quando excusum est prædictum Missale; X kal. Iulii X millia Martyrum in monte Ararath passorum, utpote Militum; V kal. Augusti S. Pantaleonis Mart. ob victoriam eo die de Turcis obtentam; VII kal. Octobris S. Cleophæ discipuli & Martyris; & XI kal. Novembris, S. Marci Episcopi Jerusalem & Martyris. Carmelitæ denique ex suis apposuerunt festa S. Petri Thomæ Ep. & Conf. (quem postea nullo idoneo argumento ut Martyrem cœperunt colere) VII Idus Ianuarii, Cyrilli Conf. non Pontif. pridie nonas Martii, Alberti Ep. & Conf. VI Idus Aprilis (de quo jam agimus, & Martyrem obiisse ostendimus) Angeli Mart. III Nonas Maji, Helizæi Prophetæ XVIII kal. Iulii, Eliæ Prophetæ XIII kal. Augusti, Alberti de Drepano III Idus Augusti.

[53] In modern terms, July 14th. This feast celebrated the liberation of the city of Jerusalem by the Crusaders in 1099.

[54] In modern terms, January 12th. On St Pontian (d. 169), see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 1 (Jan I):932-935.

[55] In modern terms, March 16th. On St Gertrude the Virgin (1221-92), see ibid., 7 (Mar II):592-599.

[56] In modern terms, June 12th. On St Odulphus the Confessor (775-865), see ibid., 21 (Jun II):591-595. On the observation of this feast by the Carmelites in one document, see Arie Paschalis Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, Textus et studia historica Carmelitana, 5 (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1962), 322-323.

[57] In modern terms, October 22nd. On St Cordula, Virgin and Martyr (d. 304), see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 59 (Oct IX):580-586.

[58] In modern terms, November 6th. St Willibrord (658-739).

[59] In modern terms, May 13th. On St Servatius (d. 384), see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 15 (May III):209-231. On the observation of this feast by the Carmelites in some documents, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 318-319.

[60] In modern terms, November 12th. St Lebuinus (d. c. 775).

[61] On St Augustine of Hippo (354-430)., see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 42 (Aug VI):213-460.

Regular everywhere in the world. The particular Saints of those of Rhodes, inscribed in their calendar, are: on the fifth day counting back from the ides of March,[62] 'The Forty Martyrs of Jerusalem', the bodies of whom were being kept on Rhodes when the said Missal was composed; on the tenth day counting back from the calends of July,[63] 'of the Ten Thousand Martyrs' who, inasmuch as being Soldiers, will have suffered on the mountain of Ararat; on the fifth day counting back from the calends of August,[64] 'St Pantaleon, Martyr', in consideration of the victory gained on that day from the Turks;[65] on the seventh day counting back from the calends of October,[66] 'of St Cleophas, disciple and Martyr',[67] and on the eleventh day counting back from the calends of November,[68] 'St Mark, Bishop of Jerusalem and Martyr.'[69] From theirs, then, the Carmelites added the feasts: 'of St Peter Thomas, Bishop and Confessor' (whom afterwards with no proper proof they began to honour as a Martyr), on the seventh day counting back from the ides of January;[70] 'of Cyril, Confessor

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[62] In modern terms, March 11th. On the observation of this feast by the Carmelites in some documents, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 310-311.

[63] In modern terms, June 22th. See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 23 (Jun IV):175-193. On the observation of this feast by the Carmelites in some documents, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 324-325.

[64] In modern terms, July 28th. See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 32 (Jul VI):397-427. On the observation of this feast by the Carmelites in one document, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 328-329.

[65] On July 27th 1480, then the feast of St Pantaleon (d. c. 303), the Turks were defeated by the forces led by Pierre d'Aubusson (1453-1503), the Grand Master of the Knights Hospitaller, at the lifting of the Siege of Rhodes.

[66] In modern terms, September 25th. See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 49 (Sep VII):5-10. On the Carmelite feast of St Cleophas on September 25th, see Boyce O.Carm., "The Development of the Feasts of the Carmelite Liturgy," 114.

[67] This refers to the New Testament figure (see Lk 24:13-32), St Cleophas.

[68] In modern terms, October 22th. See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1863-1925)*, 57 (Oct IX):477-484. On the observation of this feast by the Carmelites in some documents, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 340-341.

[69] Bishop Mark of Jerusalem (134-156).

[70] In modern terms, January 7th. On St Peter Thomas O.Carm. (1305-66), see ee O.Carm., *Breviarium Carmelitanum cum annotationibus in margine ad facillime omnia que in ipso ad alias paginas remittuntur inuenienda...* (Venice: Lucantonij de Giunta, 1543), calendar; *Breviarium Carmelitanum secundum usum ecclesiae Hierosolymitanae et cominici sepulchri. Nunc recens sub R. P. Ioanne Baptista Rubeo... solerti cura et diligentia F. Iacobi Maistret... emendatum ac typu mandatum...* (Lyons: apud Ioannem Stratium, 1575), calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* (1643-1794), 2 (Jan 2):990-1023.

not a Pope', on the day before the nones of March;[71] 'of Albert, Bishop and Confessor', on the sixth day counting back from the ides of April[72] (concerning whom we are already treating and whom we have shown died a Martyr); 'of Angelus, Martyr', on the third day counting back from the nones of May;[73] 'of Elisha the Prophet' on the eighteenth day counting back from the calends of July;[74] 'of Elijah the Prophet', on the thirteenth cay counting back from the calends of August;[75] 'of Albert from Trapani', on the third day counting back from the ides of August.[76]

90.[77] And besides, it helps here to observe that, as the Latin Canons will have inserted none of the own in the Latin Calendar to which alone they will have been accustomed, except for a few Bishops of Jerusalem, it is permitted, nevertheless, that they might honour with an extended Office various Saints from the Latins for nearly every one of the days of the Greek Monks and Clerics that there are even now in the same church of the Holy Sepulchre. Thus the first Carmelites will not have taken care to insert those

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[71] In modern terms, March 6th. On St Cyril of Constantinople O.Carm. (c. 1138-1234), see O.Carm., ed. *Missale Ordinis Carmelitarum* (Brescia: Bonino de'Bonini, 1490), calendar; *Breviary 1543*, calendar; *Missale Fratrum Carmelitarum Ordinis Beatae Dei Genetricis Mariae* (Venice: Apud Iuntas, 1621), calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):498-502.

[72] In modern terms, April 8th. See O.Carm., *Breviary 1543*, calendar; *Missal 1621*, calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 9 (Apr I):769-802.

[73] In modern terms, May 5th. On St Angelus of Sicily O.Carm. (c. 1185-1220), see O.Carm., *Missal 1490*, calendar; *Breviary 1543*, calendar; *Missal 1621*, calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 14 (May II):56-95.

[74] In modern terms, June 14th. See O.Carm., *Missal 1490*, calendar; *Breviary 1543*, calendar; *Missal 1621*, calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 21 (Jun II):784-786.

[75] In modern terms, July 20th. See O.Carm., *Missal 1621*, calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 31 (Jui V):4-22.

[76] In modern terms, August 11th. On St Albert of Trapani O.Carm. (c. 1250-1306), see O.Carm., *Missal 1621*, calendar; Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 35 (Aug II):215-239.

[77] [90] *Atque hic juvat observare, quod licet singulis pene diebus Monachi & Clerici Græci, in ipsa etiam sancti Sepulcri ecclesia, varios a Latinis Sanctos prolixo Officio colerent; uti tamen Latini Canonici eorum neminem, præter paucos Hierosolymitanos Episcopos, Latino, cui soli assueverant, Kalendario inseruerunt; ita nec Carmelitæ primi, curaverunt eosdem inserere kalendariis suis; nequidem præcipuos illos monastici status in Syria partim fundatores partim restauratores, Hilarionem, Euthymium, Sabam, Charitonem, Theodosium, Gerasimum. Et non licebit dubitare utrum majores ipsorum aliquando Græcis libris ac ritibus usi sint? Imo raptum Eliæ (qui ut Ordinis, non Patronus tantum, sed Fundator credatur dicaturque, tantopere contendunt posteri) colere ab illis non didicerunt: colunt enim hunc Græci, juxta Hierosolymitanum S. Sabæ Typicon XX Iulii; Carmelitæ autem fortaßis nec coluerunt quidem primis ab Alberto seculis; deinde excuso Martyrologii supplemento, cujus supra meminimus, infra Octavam discipuli Helizæi magistrum colendum assumpserunt XV kal. Iulii, eumque diem servaverunt, usque dum Romani Martyrologii recognitor Baronius, ex Sirleti Menologio proprium Eliæ diem restituere docuit.*

same in their calendars, not even those particular ones in Syria of the monastic state, partly founders and partly renovators, Hilarion, Euthymius, Sabas, Chariton, Theodosius, Gerasimus.[78] And will it not be permitted to doubt whether at some time or other most of the same ones were made use of in the Greek books and rites? They will by no means not have learned from the same ones to honour the carrying off of Elijah (who, as those coming after assert to such a degree, is believed and said to be, not alone the Patron of the Order, but the Founder). For according to the *Typikon*[79] of St Sabas of Jerusalem for the twentieth of July,[80] the Greeks honour this one; in the first centuries from Albert, however, the Carmelites probably do not indeed honour [him]; finally, in the supplement released for the Martyrology, of which we have above been mindful,[81] the master[82] needing to be honoured within the Octave,[83] the disciples of Elisha adopted the fifteenth day counting back from the calends of July,[84] and they will have observed this day up until Baronius, the reviewer of the Roman martyrology,[85] taught [them] to restore the proper day to Elijah from the *Menologium* of Sirletus.[86]

91.[87] Outside of those named above, however, they either added to the Saints those from their Order or they transferred to themselves those

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[78] St Hilarion (291-371), Euthymius the Great (377-473), St Sabas of Jerusalem (439-532), St Chariton (c. 260-350), St Theodosius the Great (423-529), St Gerasimus of the Jordan (d. c. 475).

[79] A Typikon, literally "that of the prescribed form", is a liturgical book that contains instructions about the order of the liturgical office of the Eastern Orthodox Church.

[80] See Ignotus, ed. *τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀκολουθίας τοῦ χρόνου ὅλου, Typicum, favente Deo, continens integrum Officii Ecclesiastici Ordinem per totum Annum* (Venice: per Ant. Pinellum, 1615).

[81] See n. 34.

[82] Here, the 'master' refers to Elijah the Prophet.

[83] The Octave, here, is that of the feast of Elisha the Prophet, celebrated on June 14th.

[84] In modern terms, June 17th.

[85] See Caesar Baronius, ed. *Martyrologium romanum ad novam kalendarii rationem... restitutum Gregorii XII. jussu editum. Accesserunt notationes atque tractatio de martyrologio romano, auctore Caesare Baronio* (Rome: Ex Typographia Dominici Basæ, 1586), 322.

[86] See William Sirletus and Heinrich Canisius, *Antiquae Lectionis Tomus...: accessit Menologium Graecorum...* 5 vols. (Ingolstadt: Ex officina typographica Ederiana, apud Andream Angermarivm, 1601-04).

[87] [91] *Quos autem, præter supra nominatos, vel ex Ordine suo aggregarunt Sanctis, vel ex antiquorum Sanctorum numero ad se transtulerunt; quo jure id fecerint non disquiro: puto tamen, quoad antiquos, primam eos colendi occasionem non esse a Carmelitis acceptam, quod crederent Ordinis sui fuisse; sed quia eorum notabiles aliquas poßidebant Reliquias, ut erant tunc omnes Latini conquirendarum Reliquiarum studiosißimi; vel quia in Cypro, prima translatis Ordinis Provincia ac veluti ceterarum altera matre, præcipuam illi venerationem obtinebant. Nam, ut de singulis dicam aliquid, Cyprius fuit S. Spiridion, qui nunc inscribi-*

from the number of the Saints of former times. I do not investigate by what right they will have done it. Insofar as it concerns those of former times, I estimate, nevertheless, that the first opportunity of honouring those that they believed had been of their Order was not accepted by the Carmelites,[88] but also because their notables owned some Relics, as all the Latins were then most zealous for acquiring Relics, or because the Relics having been carried over to Cyprus, the first Province of the Order and like another mother of the rest, those ones were gaining a particular veneration. For, as I will say something concerning each one, 'St Spiridion', who is now inscribed in the Carmelite calendar, 'Bishop and Confessor of our Order', on the fourteenth of November,[89] was a Cypriot, and, indeed, he was not a monk, nevertheless, but a married farmer before the Episcopate who, as long as he lived, had [his] spouse and daughter at his house, nor, afterwards, is he read to have lived as other than a Bishop. Since 'St Serapion' with the same titles was exhibited in the said calendar needing to be insert-

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tur kalendario Carmelitico, Episcopus & Confessor Ordinis nostri XIV Novembris; & tamen ne monachus quidem fuit; sed ante Episcopatum agricola uxoratus, qui conjugem & filiam, quamdiu vixere, apud se habuit, nec postea aliter quam Episcopus vixisse legitur. Cum iisdem titulis oblatus est kalendario prædicto inserendus S. Serapion, XXX Novembris; de cujus tamen monachatu ante aditam cathedram Antiochenam nullum uspiam verbum apud antiquos, multominus de eodem post suscepto. S. Anastasium Persam, monachum & Martyrem, quam multi ad se rapiant Ordines, quam jure nullo nitantur singuli, vidimus in Ianuario ad diem XXII. In Februario ascivere Carmelitæ S. Euphrosynam, in Martio Euphrasiam seu Eupraxiam, Virgines; monachas illas quidem, sed in Ægypto; has tamen etiam Ordinis Carmelitici fuisse sustinent recentiores, eo forsitan titulo, quod quidam Enoch de Arimathaim fingatur Præses Elianorum, in Carmelo ad Christum conversorum, & socius S. Marci Euangelistæ, ad Ægyptios Religione Christiana imbuendos & institutis monasticis informandos: nam ob hanc causam prætendunt omnia Ægyptiaca monasteria fuisse Eliana. Sed Enoch iste, quem quidam ex Carmelitis, aliis aliud sentientibus, dicunt fuisse unum ex LXXII Christi discipulis, non tantum non reperitur in ullis catalogis illorum (& tamen multos atque antiquos habemus) sed nec apud ullum nominatur scriptorem veterem qui egerit de S. Marco, ut videbitur XXV Aprilis.

[88] This refers, presumably, to the cult of the Palestinian Saints of former times not having developed among the Carmelites prior to the establishment of the Province in Cyprus.

[89] Misled, perhaps, by the death of St Serapion of Algiers on November 14th, the date here should be December 14th, see O.Carm., *Missal 1621*, 309; *Missale fratrum Carmelitarum Ordinis Beatiss. Dei Genitricis Mariae de Monte Carmelo antique observantiae regularis... Theodori Stratti iussu denuo editum* (Rome: Per stephanum Paulinum; *Missale fratrum Carmelitarum Ordinis Beatae Dei Genitricis Mariae de Monte Carmelo... Hieronymi ari iussu editum* (Venice: Apud Cieras, 1663), 323; *Missale fratrum Carmelitarum Ordinis Beatae Dei Genitricis Mariae de Monte Carmelo... Hieronymi Ari... iussu editum* (Paris: Sumptibus Simeonis Piget, 1664), 286-287; *Breviarium fratrum ordinis B. Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo iuxta Hierosolymitanae ecclesiae antiquam consuetudinem... Hieronymi Ari...* , 2 vols. (Antwerp: Apud Hieronymum & Ioan. Bapt. Verdussen, 1666), 535-537; *Breviary 1672*, calendar, December; OCD, ed. *Officia propria sanctorum et aliarum festiuitatum ordinis Carmelitarum pro fratribus discalceatis eiusdem ordinis: A Sacra Rituum Congregatione approbata* (Antwerp, 1631), 7; *Officia Propria sanctorum et aliarum festivitatum ordinis Carmelitarum pro fratribus Discalceatis eiusdem Ordinis. A Sacra Rituum Congregatione approbata* (Paris: Apud Aegidium Blaizot, 1666), 7.

ed on the thirtieth of November,[90] concerning whose being a monk before the episcopal seat of Antioch was added, much less concerning the same having been received after, there is, nevertheless, not a single word among the ancients. 'St Anastasius the Persian', monk and Martyr, whom many Orders seize and carry off for themselves, whom each one, with no right, strives after, we see in January on the twenty-second day.[91] The Carmelites take to themselves the 'Virgins', 'St Euphrosyna' in February, 'Euphrasia' or 'Eupraxia', in March.[92] Those were nuns, indeed, but in Egypt. The more recent [writers], nevertheless, sustain that they were of the Carmelite Order, perhaps by that pretence that a certain 'Enoch of Arimathea' is imagined to have been the President of the Elijans converted to Christ on Carmel, and the companion of St Mark the Evangelist concerning the Egyptians needing to be imbued with the Christian Religion and needing to be formed by monastic practices, for, on account of that reason they allege that all the Egyptian monasteries were Elijan.[93] But that Enoch, who was a certain one from the Carmelites, they say had been one of the seventy-two disciples of Christ, others perceiving something else, not only is not found in any of the catalogues of those ones (and we have, nevertheless, many and ancient) but is not named among any old writer that will have laboured concerning St Mark, as will be seen on the twenty-fifth of April.[94]

92.[95] As to the Breviary according to the usage of the Holy Sepulchre having been adopted by the Canons and the Carmelites without discordance, however, the discourse spoken by [William of] Tyre defending this[96]

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[90] See *Proper 1666*, calendar.

[91] See ibid.

[92] See ibid.

[93] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 44.

[94] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 11 (Apr III):344-358. See also *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana vindicata*, 854-855.

[95] [92] *Vt autem ad Breviarium, secundum consuetudinem sancti Sepulcri a Canonicis & Carmelitis citra discrepantiam usurpatum, revertatur oratio, confirmeturque Tyrii dictum, asserentis in ejus institutione Hierosolymis servatum ordinem, quem magnæ & amplissimæ ultra montes servant ecclesiæ; age, conferamus ipsum cum antiquioribus Gallicanis & Belgicis Breviariis, ubicumque a Romano Breviario discrepant, cum usu Canonicorum & Carmelitarum convenientibus. In his primo quidem loco Psalterium integrum ponitur, per hebdomadæ dies dispositum, sed ita ut suo ordine Psalmi omnes ponantur, etiamsi tali ordine legi non debeant. Hinc in Dominica post Psalmum III hæc ponitur Rubrica, Isti duo sequentes Psalmi non dicuntur in isto nocturno, & sunt Psalmus V Cum invocarem, & VI Verba mea auribus percipe. Deinde post Matutinum referuntur Psalmus XXI cum quatuor sequentibus, qui in Feriali officio ad Primam diversis diebus recitantur: subsequenter collocatur Psalterium reliquum, usque post vesperas Feriæ II, ubi interponuntur quæ ad Primam, Tertiam, Nonam sunt dicenda, propter Psalmum CXVIII Beati immaculati.*

[96] Apparently as a typographical error, the 'this (*quem*)' here is not in italics, sug-

Order, having been preserved in its Jerusalem institution, 'they serve the great and most renowned church beyond the mountains',[97] should be spoken again, and it should be confirmed. Do it! Let us compare the same with the more ancient Gallican and Belgian Breviaries, wherever, by agreeing with the usage of the Canons and Carmelites, they differ from the Roman Breviary. In the first place, indeed, by these Breviaries,[98] the whole Psalter is set before us, arranged by means of the days of the week, but in such a way that all the Psalms are placed in their order, even if they should not be read with such an order. Hence, after the third Psalm on the Sunday this Rubric is placed, 'These two following Psalms are not said in this Nocturn', and they are the fifth Psalm 'When I will invoke' and the sixth, 'Perceive my words with the ears'. Then, after Matins, Psalm twenty-one and the four following, which are recited at Prime for the different days in the office for the days of the week, are proposed. The remaining Psalter is laid out in succession up until after Vespers on the second day of the week, when, on account of the one hundred and eighteenth Psalm, 'Blessed are the unstained', those at Prime, Terce, None are inserted as needing to be said.

93.[99] Secondly,[100] the Antiphons needing to be recited at Matins after Trinity that are prescribed in the Breviary of the Carmelites and Regulars are different than in the Roman. The single antiphons are in agreement, however, in two verses, of what sort the first is that for the first nocturne: 'The one who meditates night and day on the law of the Lord is justly called blessed on account of the merits of the faith.'[101] And

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gesting that it was part of the quotation, which is not the case.

[97] See Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, 767 (2.9.9).

[98] The 'more ancient Gallican and Belgian Breviaries'.

[99] [93] *Secundo in Breviario Carmelitarum & Regularium, aliæ quam in Romano præscribuntur Antiphonæ, recitandæ post Trinitatem ad Matutinum; constant autem singulæ duobus versibus, qualis est hæc prima pro primo nocturno: Pro fidei meritis vocitatur jure beatus, Legem qui Domini meditatur nocte dieque. & eædem sunt in Autißiodorensi, Remensi, aliisque pluribus Breviariis. Tertio in eisdem pro Adventu officium quod Regulares & Carmelitæ recitant a Romano diversum est: nam in Sabbatho primum Capitulum proponitur, Qui venturus est veniet & non tardabit, Invitatorium vero tale, Ecce Rex venit, occurramus obviam Salvatori nostro; Lectio prima ad Matutinum est ex Prologo S. Hieronymi in Isaiam, Nemo cum Prophetas viderit versibus esse descriptos, metro existimet eos apud Hebræos ligari; in tertio Nocturno legitur Euangelium secundum Mattheum, Cum appropinquasset Jesus Hierosolymam, & venisset Bethphage ad montem Oliveti, tunc misit duos ex discipulis suis, dicens; Ite in castellum, quod contra vos est: quod ex ritu Romano solum legeretur in Dominica Palmarum & Euangelia quæ secundum eumdem ritum legenda essent Dominica I, II, III Adventus, habentur in dictis Breviariis pro Dominica II, III & IV.*

[100] This 'Secondly' is with respect to 'In the first place' in n. 92 and the 'Third', which follows.

[101] See O.Carm., *Breviary 1481*.

the same antiphons are in the Auxerre, Rheims, and in many other Breviaries. Third, in the same Breviaries, the office that the Regulars and Carmelites recite for Advent is different from the Roman, for the first Chapter, 'The one about to come will come and will not delay', is proposed on the Sabbath, the Invitatory, in truth, is of such a kind, 'Behold the King is coming, let us run to meet our Saviour'. The first reading for Matins is from the Prologue of St Jerome on Isaiah:

> Since nobody will have seen the Prophets having written them out in verses, nobody among the Hebrews would have considered them to be bound together by a verse.

In the third Nocturn, the Gospel according to Matthew that, from the Roman rite, is only read on Palm Sunday, is read:

> Since Jesus had been approaching Jerusalem, and he had come to Bethphage, near the mount of Olivet, then he sent two from his disciples, saying: Go into the city that is opposite you.

And the Gospels that, according to the same rite, are to be read on the first, second and third Sunday of Advent are kept for the second, third and fourth Sunday in the said Breviaries.

94.[102] Then in the summer part,[103] for the day of the Holy Trinity, the first six Readings are prescribed from St Augustine, 'We believe in the

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[102] [94] *Denique in parte æstiva, pro die sanctæ Trinitatis, sex primæ Lectiones præscribuntur ex S. Augustino, Credimus sanctam & individuam Trinitatem, id est, Patrem & Filium & Spiritum sanctum, unum Deum omnipotentem; Euangelium vero ad III Nocturnum est secundum Ioannem, de Nicodemo, qui noctu ad Christum venit; in Laudibus autem singulæ Antiphonæ habent sibi annexum Versum, hoc modo, Antiph. O beata & benedicta Trinitas, Pater, Filius & Spiritus sanctus. Vers. Tibi laus, tibi gloria, tibi gratiarum actio. Prima porro Dominica post octavam Pentecostes, præscribitur ex Luca parabola de divite epulone; & sequentia Euangelia Dominicarum ultra integram hebdomadem omnia transferuntur, quia Euangelium, quod in Romana Ecclesia legitur ipso sanctißima Trinitatis festo, Estote misericordes sicut & pater vester misericors est, juxta breviaria prænominata legitur Dominica quarta post Pentecosten. Plura nec lubet nec vacat colligere: satis hæc, ut quilibet agnoscat, totum Breviarii Carmelitani ordinem a Latinis ecclesiis promanasse: si autem adhuc dubitat aliquis, consulat Euchologia, Synaxaria, Liturgica, Triodia, Paracletica, Menæa, Anthologia & Menologia Græcorum: in quibus si quid invenerit, quod a Græcis retinuisse videantur Carmelitæ, manus dabimus & testimonium veritati. Ritus linguæque mutatio (quæ tamen post tot secula necdum obvenit Basilianis monasteriis in Italia, licet solos fere Italos nunc recipiant) non est idonea excusatio, quo minus retineri debuerint multa (si vere fuerint aliqua) propria toti Ordini ab immemorabili tempore antequam Latini advenirent, maxime circa cultum Sanctorum. Vnde longe consultius videtur, Ordinem hunc, quem novimus, Carmelitanum, considerare tamquam diversum a quocumque Ordine Græcorum aut Syrorum.*

[103] This refers to the part of the Breviary to be used during the summer.

holy and undivided Trinity, that is, the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, one all-powerful God'. The Gospel for the third Nocturn, in truth, is the second John [chapter] concerning Nicodemus, who came to Christ by night. At Lauds, however, they have annexed for themselves a Verse of a single Antiphon, in this manner, 'Antiphon: O happy and blessed Trinity, Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Versicle: To you praise, to you glory, to you the action of giving thanks.' Furthermore, on the first Sunday after the octave of Pentecost, the parable from Luke concerning the rich guest at a banquet will be prescribed and all the following Gospels of the Sundays beyond the completed week are transferred, because the Gospel that is read in the Roman Church on the feast of the most Holy Trinity itself, 'Be merciful and just as your Father is merciful', is read on the fourth Sunday after Pentecost according to the already named breviaries. It is neither permitted nor is there leisure to connect the many things. These things are sufficient so that anyone might acknowledge that the whole order of the Carmelite Breviary sprang forth from the Latin churches. If anyone might as yet doubt, however, that one should consult the Books of Blessings, the Lives of the Saints, the Liturgical Books, the Divine Office Books, the Sunday Books of the Divine Office, the Monthly Books of the Divine Office, the Anthologies and the Books of the Divine Office for Saints Days of the Greeks, in which, if they will have found something from the Greeks that the Carmelites were seen to have maintained, we will surrender and give testimony to the truth. And the change of language of the rite (which, nevertheless, after so many centuries has not yet happened in the Basilian monasteries in Italy, although now, for the most part, they receive only Italians) is not a suitable excuse, much less should many things proper to the whole Order, especially concerning the cult of the Saints (if, truly, there will have been some) have been held back from the speechless time before the Latins will have come. From which it is seen in a far more considered manner that this Order of Carmelites, which we have known, is to be considered as different from whatever Order of Greeks or Syrians.[104]

95.[105] So far, the things said concerning reciting the Breviary after Prime from the rite of the Latins should be understood also concerning the

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[104] In other words, the Latin-rite origin of the liturgical usages of the Carmelites is such as to clearly distinguish them from the Religious Orders of the Greeks or Syrians.

[105] [95] *Hactenus de Breviario dicta, de Martyrologio quoque, ex Latinorum ritu post Primam recitando, debent intelligi. Etenim Martyrologium S. Mariæ Virginis, Coloniam ad Carmelitas allatum ex eorumdem Francofordiensi conventu, scriptumque cum inter Divos jam relatus esset S. Thomas Cantuariensis, omnium ibidem recensitorum noviβimus; quam est ab Vsuardi textu, quo Romana tum utebatur Ecclesia, diversiβimum, tam verbotenus convenit cum eo quod usurpavit S. Lupi Trecensis ecclesia (qualia etiam fuisse cetera Canonico-*

Martyrology. And indeed the 'Martyrology of St Mary the Virgin', published for the Cologne Carmelites from their own Frankfurt convent, the newest of all those surveyed in the same place, and when St Thomas of Canterbury had been reported as already inscribed among the Divine Ones,[106] to the degree that it is the most different from the text of Usuardi,[107] which the Roman Church then used to use, the more it accords word for word with the one that the church of Saint-Loup de Troyes used (of which kind, also, the other martyrology of the Canons Regular throughout Gaul, could have been, very many examples are to be inspected, no doubt, if they are extant elsewhere) just as it is preserved up to now in the same place, written in an altogether beautiful style, and in the catalogue of the books of this church written in the year 1487 by Abbot Nicolas Forget.

96.[108] Furthermore, in this Carmelite Martyrology and in its already mentioned supplement having since been printed,[109] the name and memorial of St Joseph, the rearer of Christ, is missing.[110] And for that reason we are obliged to retract and to reprove the conjecture by which, these things having not yet been fully examined, for ourselves and for others, very likely, we were seeking to return to the nineteenth day of March the most excellent example the Carmelites gave to the other Mendicants in

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rum Regularium per Galliam martyrologia poterit haud dubie pluribus, si extant alibi, exemplaribus probari) prout illud ibidem adhuc servatur, eleganti omnino charactere exaratum, & indiculo librorum istius ecclesiæ inscriptum anno MCCCCLXXXVII a Nicolao Forjot Abbate.

[106] The feast of St Thomas of Canterbury on December 29th had been included in the Carmelite liturgical calendar since the 13th century, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 348-349; Boyce O.Carm., "The Development of the Feasts of the Carmelite Liturgy," 120-121.

[107] See Jan Molanus, *Usuardi martyrologium quo Romana ecclesia ac permultae aliae utuntur* (Louvain: Apud Hieronymum V Vellaeum, 1568).

[108] [96] *In isto porro Carmelitico Martyrologio ejusque post excuso supplemento præmemorato, abest S. Iosephi Christi nutritoris nomen & memoria: ideoque cogimur retractare & reprobare conjecturam; qua, rebus his necdum plene discußis, conabamur nobis aliisque reddere verosimile ad diem XIX Martii, Carmelitas in colendo festive S. Iosepho primum dedisse ceteris Mendicantibus exemplum, velut qui illi cultui pridem assuevissent in Syria. Neque enim consentit Breviarium Ms. ex usu sancti Sepulcri, eo festo carens, nisi quod recentiori prorsus manu interpolatum Kalendarium, nomen Iosephi habeat; nec ab Orientalibus, S. Iosephum solennißime colentibus infra Octavam Nativitatis Dominicæ, didicerunt Carmelitæ eum colere in Martio: Breviarium autem Carmeliticum, cui inseritur S. Iosephi officium novum & initio seculi XVI compositum, post eos annos primum prodiit, quibus diximus Franciscanos S. Iosephi cultum recepisse; adeo ut sententia Patrum, qua Carmelitanis Fastis addita S. Iosephi solennia cecinit Mantuanus, non aliorum Patrum fuisse existimanda sit, quam qui in aliquo Capitulo Ordinis, ætate ipsius Mantuani coacto, aliorum Ordinum permoti exemplo, ita sancivere faciendum.*

[109] See n. 34.

[110] On the Carmelite feast of St Joseph, see Kallenberg O.Carm., *Fontes liturgiae Carmelitanae. Investigatio in decreta, codices et proprium sanctorum*, 56, 312-313.

honouring St Joseph with a feast, just as they will have been accustomed to that cult in Syria a long time ago. For, lacking this feast, the manuscript Breviary from the usage of the Holy Sepulchre does not agree that it should have the name of Joseph, unless the Calendar was utterly falsified by a more recent hand, nor did the Carmelites learn to honour him in March from those of the East, honouring St Joseph within the Octave of the Lord's Nativity in a most solemn manner. The Carmelite Breviary, into which a new office of St Joseph, and composed at the beginning of the sixteenth century, is inserted, however, first appeared after those years in which, we have said, the Franciscans had received the cult of St Joseph. In so far as the Mantuan[111] sang that it was by 'the opinion of the Fathers' that 'the solemnities' of St Joseph 'were added to the register of days' by the Carmelites, it should not be supposed that, influenced by the example of the other Orders, it had been that of the other Fathers in some Chapter of the Order summoned in the lifetime of the same Mantuan that will have sanctioned[112] it as needing to be done in this way.

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[111] See Baptist Spagnoli O.Carm., *De sacris diebus Carmelitae opus aureum* (Milan: Apud Caluum, 1540), 60.

[112] The form of the verb used here, *sancivere*, is a rare variant on the more usual *sanxere*, see, for example, Gregory XIII's bull, *Alias piae*, of 1581, in Giovanni Paulo Lancellotti, ed. *Gregorii papae XI Decretales una cum libro sexto, Clementinis et extravagantibus... et Io. Pauli Lancellotti Institutiones iuris canonici... tomus secundus* (Graz Augustae Taurinorum: Ex tipographia regia, 1776), 3/7:125.

Chapter 10

The Rule of Albert Having Been Approved by the Popes.[1]

The Order up to then being tenuous and obscure, there is nothing concerning the hermits on Carmel in the letters of Innocent to Albert. Vexed by the title of novelty, the greatest of them do not bring forward something other than the Rule that had been given before the Council and they obtain its confirmation in the year 1226, this being the first Bull given to those ones. For the sequences of Indulgences of Pope Leo IV, and of others, are rejected, then from the more certain form of the Indulgences, at another time from the style of the alleged bull. And the same from a consideration of the places for which they had been given. The 'Great Sea (*Mare magnum*)' of Sixtus IV has nothing similar. As de Lezana himself had hardly dared so much as to make mention of it, the future Bull, which, it is said, was given by the same, is seen as not having given enough time[2] to the Pontiff and the General. The others[3] having confirmed the Order before Honorius are said to be without foundation; after him, Gregory IX did this in the year 1230. Since up to this the Carmelites lived only on [Mount] Carmel and were divided in very many places a little after, which things are from an ancient author, but I count the writers, twelve are listed, when they also began to be called the Brothers of Blessed Mary, the Virgin, which the Popes themselves followed after the year 1250.[4]

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[1] *CAPUT X. Regula B. Alberti a summis Pontificibus approbata.*

[2] The earlier *data* combined with *aqua* suggests the idiom, *aquam dare*, to give someone enough time.

[3] This refers to other papal Bulls or, perhaps, to other Popes.

[4] *In litteris Innocentii ad Albertum nihil est de eremitis in Carmelo, tum adhuc tenui & obscuro ordine: eorum majores titulo novitatis vexati, aliud non allegant quam Regulam ante concilium data fuisse, ejusque confirmationem impetrant an. 1226, hæc iis prima data Bulla: nam Leonis Papæ 4, aliorumque sequentium Indulgentiæ, tum ex forma Indulgentiarum certiorum, tum ex pretensæ bullæ stylo reprobantur: itemque ex consideratione locorum quibus datæ fuissent. Nihil simile habet Sixti IV Mare magnum: quæ postera ab eodem data dicitur Bulla, videtur Pontifici & Generali non satis aqua, adeo ut ipse Lezana vix ausus*

97.[5] From those letters of Pope Innocent III that the same Apostolic One gave to Albert, the Legate of the Apostolic See in the Holy Land, it is sufficiently seen that the same Legate did nothing that was of any great substance, concerning which, on account of the custom of Legates, awaiting the counsel and the command, he will not have reported to the same Holy See. For, where there is no danger in a delay, a Legate does not easily employ something of the authority committed to him with completeness and business of greater importance for the state is transacted. De Lezana had found many Letters of the same [Pope] to the same [Legate] in the Vatican Register and, having carefully examined all, he had found in those things, if you will, that, without doubt, the least mention of whatever hermits there were in Syria had been inserted in their annals. Since that is not done, since we said that some such thing is not observed in those annals that have been edited, the origins of the Order as far as under Brocard having been tenuous up to then, and the same Rule having been thus handed down to those few hermits in the manner of a private instruction, we are altogether obliged to believe that the same Albert, not knowing that the seed he was casting was of much account, will not have thought there was more reason to inform the Pontiff concerning that thing than another Bishop, whoever it be, instituting some pious confraternity among those subject to him, and privately regulating laws, would have thought about appealing to the Pontiff concerning the proposed goal of the new union

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fuerit, ejus facere mentionem. Sine fundamento dicuntur alii ante Honorium confirmasse Ordinem, fecit id post eum Gregorius IX, an. 1230, cum adhuc in solo Carmelo habitarent Carmelitæ; sed numero auctores, & paulo post in plura loca divisi, quæ ab auctore antiquo, 12 numerantur, quando etiam dici cœperunt Fratres B. Mariæ V., quod ipsi Pontifices post an. 1250 secuti sunt.

[5] [97] *Ex iis Innocentii III Papæ litteris, quas ad Albertum, Sedis Apostolicæ in Terra sancta Legatum, idem Apostolicus dedit, satis apparet, ipsum Legatum nihil magnæ alicujus rei egisse, de quo pro Legatorum more, ad ipsam sanctam Sedem non retulerit, consilium mandatumque præstolans: nec enim facile Legatus quispiam utitur potestatis sibi commissæ plenitudine, ubi nullum in mora periculum est, & majoris ad rempublicam momenti negotium tractatur. Plures ejusdem ad eumdem Epistolas si reperisset in Registro Vaticano Lezana, totum accurate scrutatus, & in iis vel minimam quorumcumque in Syria eremitarum mentionem reperisset, inseruisset haud dubie suis Annalibus. Quod cum factum non sit, neque in iis quas editas diximus tale quidpiam legatur; cogimur omnino credere, principia Ordinis sub Brocardo adeo fuisse tenuia adhuc, ipsamque Regulam privatæ instructionis in modum sic traditam paucis illis eremitis; ut ipse Albertus, nesciens quantæ rei semen jaceret, non magis de ea cogitaverit informare Pontificem, quam de Pontifice appellando tunc cogitasset quivis alius Episcopus, piam quampiam inter subditos confraternitatem instituens, ac legibus privatim ordinans, ad propositum adunationi novæ scopum consequendum. Quod ipsum multo magis sentiendum de Haymerico Antiocheno & Amalrico Hierosolymitanis Patriarchis, sub quibus Eremitæ isti primum sunt collecti & forte etiam jus religiosæ profeßionis adepti.*

needing to be pursued. Because the same goal was much more something concerning Aimery and Amalric, the Antiochene and Jerusalem Patriarchs, under whom those hermits were first assembled and also, perhaps, obtained the right of religious profession.

98.[6] But if the hermitages, either all or many being as yet of the Greeks and Syrians, different in language, customs, institutions, rites, had been needing to be subjected to one obedience, just as 'of the Prior General', or if, formerly, the Latins having been intermingled among the same ones, the first Superiors must have been exempt from the obedience so that they were gathered under one head of their own race. And, again, if by the same ones inhabiting not only the forests but also the cities having been divided, it would have hastened handing down the Rule by means of the very many monasteries throughout the whole of Palestine, how many letters to the Patriarch concerning this, how many responses to the Pontiff, would have been needed? Those concerning the union of the Augustinian Hermits and of others in Etruria can serve as an example of those matters not completely in dispute, the acts you find in the previous commentary concerning St William for February 10th,[7] and they are, nevertheless, hardly a tenth part of the records that could have been brought forward. By no minor effort was the thing done, when, in imitation of certain Canons of Lucca, who has restored themselves to the norm of the Apostolic life in the church of Santa [Maria of] Fregionaia, some in other places,[8] and even at the Lateran Basilica in Rome, began living together under a rule, from which the order of the Canons Regular was born or reborn. Therefore, whatever and how much the increase for

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[6] [98] *Ast si unius obedientiæ, tamquam Prioris Generalis, subjicienda fuissent eremitoria vel omnia vel multa etiam Græcorum atque Syrorum; lingua, moribus, institutis, ritibus diversorum; aut si iisdem antea permixti Latini debuissent priorum Superiorum obedientiæ eximi, ut sub unum suæ gentis caput colligerentur; & iterum, si ipsis, per plura monasteria jam divisis, neque silvas tantum sed urbes etiam inhabitantibus, tradenda Regula per totam volitasset Palestinam; quot Patriarchæ litteris, quot Pontificis de hoc responsis opus fuisset? Exemplo esse poterunt quæ circa Eremitarum Augustinianorum aliorumque in Hetruria non admodum discrepantium unionem, acta invenies in prævio ad S. Guilielmum commentario, ad X Februarii, & tamen vix sunt pars decima monumentorum quæ allegari potuissent. Nihilo minori molimine res acta est, quando imitatione Lucensium quorumdam Canonicorum, qui in ecclesia S. Frigidiani ad vitæ Apostolicæ normam se reduxerant, alii aliis locis atque etiam Romæ ad Lateranensem Basilicam cœperunt regulariter cohabitare, unde natus vel renatus est ordo Canonicorum Regularium. Igitur quodcumque & quantumcumque incrementum Carmelitis acceßit, quod sua magnitudine posset in oculos hominum sermonesque incurrere, id totum acceßit post datam Regulam, imo post ipsius Alberti mortem.*

[7] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 4 (Feb II):433-491.

[8] The Canons Regular of the Holy Cross of Mortara, to which Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem belonged, was one of these groups.

the Carmelites came to in the eyes and discussions of people that it could offend, by its magnitude, it all came to it after the Rule was given, in reality, after the death of Albert himself.

99.[9] The same having been removed from the living, the Ecumenical Lateran Council was celebrated in the year 1214, and in that decree what was established was of such a kind:

> Lest too great a variety of religious orders leads to grave confusion in God's Church, we strictly forbid anyone henceforth to found a new religious order. Whoever wants to become a religious should enter one of the already approved orders. Likewise, whoever wishes to found a new religious house should take the Rule and institutes from already approved religious orders.[10]

Both this thing, and the other decrees of that Council, indeed, were immediately brought home to Syria and quickly communicated to the Bishops. And not, nevertheless, unless molestations were gradually set in motion against the Carmelites, having been enlarged by the more visible daily increase at the spring, and, having been asked by the other Prelates if the constitution of the Council was being sinned against, that the same Carmelites, being without any known Rule in Europe and having received profession, were being permitted to live in this way and to be increased. In this way, in truth, the complaints having increased and

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[9] [99] *Ipso vivis exempto, celebratum est anno MCCXV Concilium œcumenicum Lateranense, in eoque decretum conditum hujusmodi: Ne nimia religionum diversitas gravem in Ecclesia Dei offensionem inducat, firmiter prohibemus, ne quis de cetero novam religionem inveniat: sed quicumque voluerit ad religionem converti, unam de approbatis sumat; similiter qui voluerit domum de novo fundare, Regulam & institutionem accipiat de approbatis. Hoc, uti & cetera Concilii illius decreta, perlatum quidem confestim in Syriam est & cito Episcopis communicatum; non tamen nisi paulatim contra Carmelitas motæ sunt molestiæ, & spectabiliori quotidie eorumdem ad fontem incremento auctæ, Prælatis aliisque quærentibus contra constitutionem Concilii peccari, quod ipsi, absque Regulæ ullius in Europa notæ & receptæ profeßione, sic vivere & augeri sinerentur. Sic vero auctæ multiplicatæque querelæ, Brocardum & Fratres impulerunt, ut ad Apostolicam Sedem pro remedio accurrerent, quatenus in suscepta Alberti Regula permitterentur manere, ipsaque a Pontifice approbata censeri posset. Ad hoc autem obtinendum, non allegarunt sui Ordinis antiquitatem, non alia infinita quæ allegari potuissent, si vera essent ea omnia quibus pleni sunt Annales Lezanæ: non dixerunt, majores suos habuisse pro Regula tot antegreßis seculis librum Ioannis de institutione monachorum, quia cum hæc quærerentur nec dum erat ille conflictus; non denique a S. Basilii Regula, toto oriente & occidente probatissima, excusationem novitatis petierunt, futuram si vera erat efficacißimam. Quid igitur? Id nempe solum, quod solum in rescripto suo Pontifex indicat: solent enim supplicationibus conformari apostillæ. Rescriptum autem tale est:*

[10] See Norman P. Tanner SJ, ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London: Sheed and Ward, 1990), 1:242.

multiplied, they persuaded Brocard and the Brothers that they should hasten to the Apostolic See for a remedy, so that they would be permitted to remain in the Rule of Albert having been received, and that the same could be held as having been approved by the Pope. For that thing needing to be obtained, however, they brought forward, not the antiquity of their Order, not the infinite other things that they could have brought forward if all the things with which the Annals[11] of de Lezana are filled were true. They did not say that, for so many preceding centuries, their ancestors had the book of John concerning the institution of the monks instead of a Rule, because, when these things were being investigated that book was not yet devised. It was not, finally from the Rule of St Basil, most esteemed by the whole East and West, that they sought the future, most efficacious excusing of novelty, if it was true.[12] What therefore? That thing alone, certainly, that, alone, the Pope indicates in his reply: the reasons for the appeal are usually fashioned by those making the appeal. The reply, however, is such:

> 100.[13]
>
> Honorius, Bishop, the servant of the servants of God, to the beloved sons, the Prior and Brother Hermits from Mount Carmel, salvation and the Apostolic blessing. So that you ... might regularly observe the norm of life edited by the Patriarch of Jerusalem of happy memory ...

Perhaps the name of Albert falls out for the transcribers because it was written by means of the initial A alone, on account of the custom of that age.

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[11] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*.

[12] The implication, here, would seem to be that there should be some doubt as to whether their apparently recent appearance needed 'excusing' by demonstrating an earlier tradition based on the Rule of St Basil or whether their appearance had, indeed, been recent.

[13] [100] *Honorius Episcopus servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Priori & Fratribus Eremitis de monte Carmelo salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Ut normam vivendi regulariter, a bonæ memoriæ Hierosolymitano Patriarcha editam (excidit forte transcribentibus nomen Alberti, quia pro more illius ævi per solum A initiale scriptum) quam ante generale Concilium vos dicitis humiliter suscepisse, imposterum vos & successores vestri, quantum cum Dei adjutorio poteritis, observetis, in remissionem vobis injungimus peccatorum. Datum Reate III kalendas Februarii, Pontificatus nostri anno X, id est Christi MCCXXVI. Hæc est prima Apostolica Bulla, quæ scitur data Fratribus Eremitis de monte Carmeli: & hoc nomen videtur auctiori ac magis jam noto cœtui placuisse, tamquam dignius famosiusque eo quo sub Alberto adhuc utebantur, quando dumtaxat nominabantur Fratres ad fontem.*

> ... which you say you humbly received before the General Council,[14] for the future you and your successors should observe, insofar as you will be able with the help of God, we impose it upon you for the remission of your sins. Given in on the 3rd day counting back from the calends of February,[15] the 10th year of our pontificate.[16]

that is the 1226th year of Christ. This is the first Apostolic Bull that is known to have been given to 'the Brother Hermits from the Mountain of Carmel'. And this name, more worthy and more famous than that which they used to use up to then under Albert, when they used to be named only 'the Brothers at the spring', seems to have pleased the already more enlarged and more noted union.

101.[17] To those asserting that this was the first Bull, the 'Indulgences' granted by Leo IV (as it is said) are opposed (Leo began to occupy the seat in the year 848,[18] however) and indeed under this formula:

> Pope Leo IV, seven years and twelve Lenten seasons[19] to all the faithful of Christ who will have devoutly visited the churches of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary from the mountain of Carmel in the feasts of this sort: of the Nativity of the Lord, of Easter, of the Apostles Peter and Paul, of Pentecost, of the Assumption, of the Annunciation, of the Purification of the blessed mother of God and ever Virgin

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[14] This refers to the General Council of the Lateran in 1215.

[15] In modern terms, January 30th.

[16] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 60 page 2.

[17] [101] *Asserenti primam hanc Bullam esse, opponentur Indulgentiæ, ab Leone IV (ut fertur) concessæ (sedere autem Leo cœpit anno DCCCXLVIII) & quidem sub hac formula: Leo Papa Quartus, omnibus Christi fidelibus, qui ecclesias Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ de monte Carmeli hujusmodi in festis, Nativitatis Dominicæ, Paschæ, Apostolorum Petri & Pauli, Pentecostes, Assumptionis, Annuntiationis, Purificationis ejusdem beatæ Dei genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ, S. Michaelis Archangeli, omnium Sanctorum, in duobus festis sanctæ Crucis, Nativitatis S. Joannis Baptistæ, Sanctorum Martyrum Fabiani & Sebastiani, & in die Parasceves, & per Octavas prædictarum festivitatum, & vocabulis omnium Ecclesiarum dicti Ordinis devote visitaverint & pias eleemosynas largiti fuerint, seu domos confractas ejusdem Ordinis refecerint, septem annos & duodecim Quadragenas. Deinde nominantur Adrianus II anno DCCCLXVII creatus; Stephanus V, anno DCCCLXXXV consecratus; Sirgilius III, omnibus Pontificum catalogis ignotus; Joannes X, anno DCCCCXIII assumptus; Joannes XI, suffectus DCCCCXXXI; Sergius V, quem oportet adhuc venturum speremus, nam hujus nominis ultimus, anno MIX promotus, Quartus numeratur; & Innocentius IV; qui dicuntur, ecclesias prædictas visitantibus, adjuvantibus &c. tertiam partem omnium delictorum in Domino relaxasse.*

[18] The pontificate of Leo IV began on April 10th 847.

[19] This refers, presumably, to the length and benefit of the period of repentance (with fasting and abstinence) to which the benefit of the proposed indulgence would be equivalent.

> Mary, of St Michael the Archangel, of all the Saints, in the two feasts of the holy Cross,[20] of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, of the Holy Martyrs Fabian and Sebastian, and on the day of Preparation,[21] and throughout the Octaves of the already mentioned festivities, and who will have devoutly visited the precincts of the Churches of the said Order, and who will have dispensed pious alms, or will have devoutly rebuilt the destroyed houses of the same Order.[22]

Next, 'Adrian II' created in the year 867, 'Stephen V', consecrated in the year 885, 'Sirgilius III', unknown to all the catalogues of the Popes, 'John X', [the See] having been assumed in the year 913,[23] 'John XI', having been elected in 931, 'Sergius V', who, it is proper, as yet, is about to come, we hope, for the last of this name, having been promoted in the year 1009, was numbered IV, and 'Innocent IV' who, for those visiting, helping etc. the said churches, 'had, in the Lord, relaxed a third part of all trespasses', they are relating.[24]

102.[25] The Bull of the same Innocent is extant in de Lezana for the year 1245, number seven,[26] from the more similar style, certainly, having been edited and composed from the *Speculum* of the Order,[27] where

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[20] The two feasts were the Finding of the Holy Cross on May 3rd and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross on September 14th. Under Pope St John XXIII, the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross was united with that of the Exaltation on September 14th.

[21] This refers to Good Friday.

[22] See Manuel Rodrígues OFM, ed. *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm Mendicantium et non Mendicantium...* 2 in 1 vols. (Antwerp: Apud Petrum & Ioannem Belleros, 1616), 1:204.

[23] Most modern histories date the beginning of the papacy of John X to March 914.

[24] See Rodrígues OFM, *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm*, 1:204.

[25] [102] *Extat apud Lezanam ad annum 1245 num. 7 ex speculo Ordinis edita & verosimiliori stylo conscripta istius Innocentii Bulla, qua Priori & Fratribus Eremitis de monte Carmeli rogat subsidia caritatis erogari, utpote tunc ex Syria in Europam numero majori transgreßis, septennio postquam Cyprii aliquot & Siculi fratres initium fecerant emigrandi; utque ad pium istud opus faciat promptiores, omnibus vere pœnitentibus & confessis, qui eis manum porrexerint caritatis, decem dies de injuncta sibi pœnitentia misericorditer relaxat. Videat nunc lector utrum hæc parcitas cum ea conveniat largitate, quæ uni eidemque Pontifici in eadem causa supra tribuitur. Sane si vera est Bulla hæc ultima (nec enim in Mari magno privilegiorum talis reperitur, sed alia qua conceditur Fratribus tempore Interdicti divina celebrare) si, inquam vera bulla est posterior, prætensam ejusdem Pontificis aliorumque antegressorum ac potißimum Leonis IV bullam efficaciter evertit. Quid enim Carmelitis opus erat solicitare Pontificem, pro parva decem dierum Indulgentia cum onere confessionis præmittendæ, si certi erant de obtentis, ante annos circiter quadringentos, pro eadem causa & absque tali onere indulgentiis annorum septem & duodecim Quadragenarum.*

[26] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 4:305-306.

[27] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 61, p. 1.

'he asks that the helps of charity be paid out by the Prior and Brother Hermits from the mountain of Carmel' inasmuch as the greater number having then crossed over to Europe from Syria, seven years after some Cypriot and Sicilian brothers made a beginning of emigrating, and in order that it would make them more prepared for that pious work:

> to all will have stretched out the hand of charity, to them having truly repented and confessed, he mercifully eased ten days concerning the penitence enjoined by himself.

The Reader should now discern whether this thriftiness is appropriate with that abundance, which is above attributed without exception to the same Pontiff in the same cause. Soberly, reasonably, if it is a genuine Bull, this last (for in the Great Sea[28] of privileges such a one is not found, but another one[29] there concedes to the Brothers to celebrate the divine offices in a time of Interdict) if I say that the authentic Bull is later, it efficaciously overturns the alleged bull of the same Pontiff and the most powerful bull of Leo IV and [those] of the other preceding Pontiffs. For what was the need for the Carmelites to solicit the Pontiff on behalf of the small Indulgence of ten days together with the burden of confession needing to be placed in advance, if, about forty years before, on account of the same cause and without such a burden for Indulgences 'of seven years and twelve Lenten seasons', they had been certain concerning those things having been obtained?

103.[30] The learned men in the Roman Curia know and already assert that the formulas of giving Indulgences of that kind did not begin to be generally used in the church until the 11th and 12th century, and before

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[28] The 'Great Sea (*Mare magnum*)' implicitly refers to the title of the papal bull known as the *Mare magnum* (1476), see n. 105 below.

[29] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 61, p. 2.

[30] [103] *Norunt & jam paßim consentiunt eruditi in Curia Romana viri, ejusmodi Indulgentiarum dandarum formulas, non nisi* XI *ac* XII *seculo cœptas in ecclesia usurpari; & citra difficultatem refellunt unum alterumve temporis anterioris fictitium exemplum, quod posset in contrarium objici. Nolo tamen hoc argumento uti; nolo dicere nihil in tota Bullæ istius, quæ Leoni attribuitur, forma esse quod Pontificiarum istius ævi litterarum stylum referat. Convincendæ imposituræ sufficiunt tria prima verba,* Leo Papa Quartus. *Quis enim eo tempore sic exorsus est Pontifex? Vide quotquot Vghellus toto suo opere habet Pontificum Bullas,* IX *seculo aut vicinis datas; invenies hac omnes ordiri forma* N. Episcopus servus servorum Dei: *sic quintus post dictum Leonem Marinus, sui nominis primus, anno* DCCCLXXXII *scripsit Danieli Solenniacensi in Galliis Abbati tom. 1 Italiæ sacræ, col. 132; sic alii post illum paßim seculis aliquot, sic ante illum probabiliter omnes post S. Gregorium Magnum, qui Ioannis Constantinopolitani retusurus fastum, Patriarcham Oecumenicum se scribentis, primus* Servum servorum Dei, *titulo posteris laudatißimo, se appellavit.*

this difficulty they show one or other fictitious example of an earlier time to be false because it could be presented in the opposite direction. By this argument being used, I am unwilling, nevertheless, I am unwilling to say nothing on the totality of these Bulls that are attributed to Leo; that the from is the style that would refer to the Pontifical letters of the time. The first three words, 'Pope Leo IV', are sufficient for convincing one of the deceit. For which Pontiff at that time began in this way? See whatever many Bulls of Pontiffs given from the ninth century or from neighbouring centuries Ughelli has in his whole work; you will find that all begin with this form. 'Bishop N., the servant of the servants of God'. In this way, the fifth after the said Leo, Marinus, the first of his name,[31] wrote to Daniel, the Abbot of Solemnes in Gaul, in the year 882, tome 1 of the *Italia sacra*, column 132.[32] In this way, the others after that one at different places, in several centuries, in this way, probably, all before that one[33] [and] after St Gregory the Great, who, about to repress the haughtiness of John of Constantinople,[34] writing that he was the Ecumenical Patriarch, called himself by a title most praised by those coming after, the first 'Servant of the servants of God'.

104.[35] Which then, however, are those houses or churches in whose favour these things were established? Were they located in Asia or in Europe? In this matter not one is named, indeed, concerning which, from any probable argument, I will demonstrate, partly from chapter two of the Preliminary Tract before tome two,[36] partly in the work about to be

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[31] Pope Marinus I, also known as Pope Martin II, was pope from 882 to 884.

[32] See, for example, Ughelli and Coleti, *Italia sacra (1717-22)*, 1:132.

[33] This refers to Pope Marinus I.

[34] This refers to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch John IV Nesteutes of Constantinople (582-595) .

[35] [104] *Quænam autem sunt illæ domus vel ecclesiæ in quarum favorem statuta hæc forent? in Asiane an Europa sitæ? In hac ne unam quidem nominari, de qua probabili ullo argumento verosimile fiat ante migrationis prænotatæ tempus exstitisse, demonstrabo partim cap. 2 Tractatus Præliminaris ante tomum 2, partim in sequenti Majo acturus de SS. Angelo & Simone. In Asia quæcumque erant monasteria, fuisse ab indigenis habitata, nec ipsi Carmelitæ audebunt negare; imo hoc ultro concedunt, cum dicunt Majores suos, ante Latinorum adventum, S. Basilii aut Ioannis Hierosolymitani scriptis Græcis pro Regula usos. Hos vero sæpe schismaticos & semper Græcos Syrosve, id est, totos pendentes a propriis sui ritus Patriarchis & Episcopis, vix patientes appellari Romanam Sedem in maxime arduis fidei aut ecclesiæ negotiis, an dicemus pro impetrandis Indulgentiis Romam accurrisse? Quo unquam id factum probabitur exemplo, non dico pro seculo IX, X, aut XI; sed vel pro seculis posterioribus, quando Episcopi Græci bene multi Ecclesiæ Romanæ unionem profeßi sunt & diu tenuerunt? Nos saltem exemplum nullum hactenus vidimus in tot Sanctorum Græcorum vitis & historiis.*

[36] On St Angelus of Sicily O.Carm., see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 10 (Apr II):v-viii (22-34).

done for the following May [volumes] concerning Saints Angelus[37] and Simon,[38] that it would be done, very likely, before it had been the time of the already noted migration. Whatever monasteries there were in Asia had been inhabited by those who were indigenous, nor will the same Carmelites dare to negate this; on the contrary, they gratuitously concede this when they say that the majority of them, before the coming of the Latins, used the Greek writings of St Basil or of John of Jerusalem instead of a Rule. That those ones, in truth, were often schismatics and always Greeks or Syrians, that is, that all the rites were depending from their own Patriarchs and Bishops, scarcely suffering that, in the difficulties of the faith or in the affairs of the church, most particularly, it was to be appealed to the Roman See, can we say that they had hurried to the Roman See on account of Indulgences needing to be obtained? By which example will it ever have been shown that it was done, I do not say for the ninth, tenth or eleventh century, but for the centuries coming after, when many Greek Bishops professed the union to the Roman Church and held it for a long time? So far, we have seen no example in the lives and histories of so many Greek Saints.

105.[39] But what am I in comparison to these so many things? In the collection of Apostolic Privileges, Mendicant Rules and Non-Mendicant Concessions of Manuel Rodríguez, there is the very long diploma of Sixtus IV, given 'in the year 1476, on the fourth day counting back from the calends of December',[40] which the Carmelites call his 'Great Sea (*Mare magnum*)', on account of the multitude and size of the privileges. And 'the original is found in the convent of St Francis in Salamanca, by means of Lord Juan de Castilla, the Bishop of the Salamanca cathedral', by whom the Pope, intending to restore, confirm and approve all the things which were

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[37] On St Simon Stock O.Carm., see ibid., 14 (May II):798-842.

[38] See ibid., 15 (May III):653-654.

[39] [105] *Sed quid ego hæc tam multis? Extat in Emanuelis Roderici collectione Privilegiorum Apostolicorum, Regularibus mendicantibus & non mendicantibus concessorum, Sixti IV diploma longißimum, anno MCCCCLXXVI, IV kal. Decembris datum, quod, propter privilegiorum multitudinem amplitudinemque, suum Mare magnum appellant Carmelitæ; & authentica habetur in conventu S. Francisci Salmanticensi, per Dominum Joannem de Castella Salmanticensis cathedralis Episcopum; quo Pontifex intendens innovare, confirmare & approbare omnia, quæ a quampluribus Romanis Pontificibus decessoribus suis fuerant, pro divini cultus & dicti Ordinis incremento animarumque salute, indulta ac constituta; curavit desuper emanatas litteras in Cancellaria diligenter inspici, omniumque tenorem de verbo ad verbum inseri Constitutioni suæ. Sunt autem privilegia circiter quinquaginta, sed eorum Pontificum omnia, qui post translatum in Europam Ordinem Ecclesiæ Dei præfuerunt; nullum ullius qui Innocentio IV sit antiquior.*

[40] In modern terms, October 28th.

permitted and constituted by so many Roman Pontiffs, his predecessors, 'on behalf of the increase of the divine cult and of the said Order and the salvation of souls', took care that the letters emanating from above were diligently inspected 'in the Chancellery, and the content of all inserted word for word'[41] in his Constitution. The privileges are around fifty,[42] however, but all their Pontiffs presided after the Order was transferred to Europe; there is none of one who would be more ancient than Innocent IV.[43]

106.[44] You will respond that in the same Manuel there is still another diploma of the same Pontiff, with the same beginning as the earlier one, very few words having been changed, by which (just as the defect of the earlier Bull was about to be made good, for it will have said nothing concerning Indulgences) it brings together all the graces of this kind conceded to them by the predecessors, beginning from the Bull of Leo IV. But, after the beginning, that diploma procedes by a most different style. For, most sparing of the parchment and of the words in this place, the unimpaired content that it expresses most cautiously in the first of the individual decrees, having feared not at all to extend his diploma to such a size, he contracts all twenty-two decrees of the Popes in one little page, 'and if they are inserted word for word, willing to have been expressed sufficiently', and that from the trustworthiness, as it is alleged, of Christopher Martigoni, the Master General,[45] asserting that 'privileges and in-

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[41] See Rodrígues OFM, *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm*, 174-203.

[42] These different Papal documents are included in the document and they amount to 108 different privileges, which are listed at the beginning of the document, see ibid., 174-176.

[43] Innocent IV was Pope from 1243 to 1254.

[44] [106] *Respondebis apud eumdem Emanuelem extare etiam diploma alterum ejusdem Pontificis, eodem quo prius exordio, paucißimis immutatis verbis, quo (veluti suppleturus bullæ prioris defectum, nam de Indulgentiis dixerat nihil) colligit omnes hujusmodi gratias a decessoribus suis concessas, incipiens a Bulla Leonis IV. Sed diploma istud procedit stylo post exordium diversißimo. Nam qui in prioribus cautißimus integrum singularum expreßit tenorem, nihil veritus diploma suum in tantam entendere amplitudinem; hic membranæ atque verborum parcißimus, viginti duorum Pontificum decreta uno perstringit foliculo; omnia, ac si de verbo ad verbum insererentur, volens sufficienter haberi expressa, idque ex fide, ut prætenditur, Christophori Martignoni Magistri Generalis, asserentis, ejusmodi privilegia & indulta in domibus Ordinis esse recepta, eorumque continentiam publicis scripturis in dicti Ordinis ecclesiis aptissime reperiri.... pro eo tamen quod, propter singularitatem privilegiorum, originales desuper litteræ ad manus Generalis non devenerint, nec de illis aliter, quam ut præfertur, doceri potest, circa vim & efficaciam eorum nonnulla dubia esse exorta & plura exoritura formidari; quibus opportune provideri Generalis petierit, annuerit Pontifex.*

[45] The term Master General has been used to describe the overall superior of the Dominican Order but the usual term for the overall superior of the Carmelites is the Prior General.

dults' of this kind were 'received in the houses' of the Order, and their moderation is most appropriately to be found from 'the public writings ... in the said churches of the Order ...'. By virtue of this, nevertheless, 'that, on account of the singularity of the privileges, the originals of the letters from above will not have reached the hand of the ... General, nor can it be taught concerning those things that they are of a different nature than as shown, some doubts having arisen concerning their power and efficacy and very many things to be feared about to spring up',[46] it will have been asked of the General that attention be given opportunely to these things, the Pope having been acquiescing.

107.[47] At all events, I estimate that the ministers of the Roman Curia were never about to believe that, in the most prudent Pontiff,[48] and the one demanding of the Chancellery all the things for trustworthiness, he was open to so much alteration having been made from those going before in the space of four months. Nor, as indeed it seems to me, is it a slight injury inflicted on the same General, when it is believed that there had been so much over-confidence that, the greatest exactness of the Pontiff confirming nothing unless having been most thoroughly investigated, he, having been tested, had dared to bestow to the same, even as having been conceded to the whole Order, privileges of which they did not present, I do not say the original letters, but the examples, indeed, nor did he say in which places those things were preserved. For if they were somewhere, it could certainly have been taught concerning those things that they were of a different nature than appears to have been

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[46] See Rodrígues OFM, *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm*, 203-205.

[47] [107] *Equidem existimo Curiæ Romanæ ministros numquam crediturос, in Pontifice, ut ex antegreßis patuit, prudentißimo, omniaque ad fidem Cancellariæ exigente, tantam factam quadrimestri spatio mutationem. Nec levis injuria, ut mihi quidem videtur, infertur ipsi Generali, dum tantum præfidentiæ habuisse creditur, ut summam Pontificis accurationem expertus, nil nisi compertißima confirmantis; eidem ausus fuerit offerre privilegia, velut toti Ordini concessa, quorum, non dico originales litteras, sed nec exemplatas quidem exhiberet; neque diceret quibus in locis eæ asservarentur: si enim extabant uspiam, aliter certe doceri de iis poterat, quam factum appareat. Doceri autem revera nihil de iis potuisse grandi convincor argumento, cum video in Annalibus Lezanæ (ad quos elaborandos constat ex mandato Generalis omnia totius Ordinis scrinia & archivia excussa fuisse) de tot Pontificum Bullis quot in Sixtina illa suspecta citantur, ne unum quidem exemplar repertum esse, quod integre productum in iisdem Annalibus ceteris adhuc latentibus fidem conciliaret: magni etenim ad probandam antiquitatis præsumptæ veritatem momenti futurum erat, si alicubi inveniretur probatio vel documentum authenticum privilegiorum, Ordini datorum ante Albertum. An ergo ad Martignoni usque tempora per annos sexcentos incorruptæ Bullæ, eorumque exempla ubique extantia, subito defecere, & peracta coram Pontifice comœdia disparuerunt?*

[48] The Pontiff in question is Sixtus IV.

done. I am convinced that nothing, in fact, could have been taught concerning those things, however, by a powerful argument when I see in the Annals[49] of Lezana (for carefully elaborating which, it is well known that, from the command of the General, all the document chests and archives of the whole Order were examined) concerning so many Bulls of Popes in that Sistine archive[50] that suspicions are excited, that not one example was found, indeed, having been entirely brought forth in those same Annals[51] that might gain confidence for the rest that lie concealed, for truly it was of great importance for proving the future truth of the presumed antiquity if proof or the authentic document of the privileges of the Order given before Albert was found somewhere. Therefore, did the incorrupt Bulls, and their examples, extant everywhere for six hundred years up until the times of Martignoni,[52] suddenly go missing and, the comedy[53] having been performed in the presence the Pontiff, did they disappear?[54]

108.[55] When he printed the fifth tome of the *Summa Quaestionum Regularium* 'on the *Mare magnum* of the Orders of Preachers, of the Mi-

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[49] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*.

[50] This probably refers, not to a particular building or room known as the Sistine archive, but to the archive of the bulls and other documents associated with Pope Sixtus IV.

[51] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*.

[52] Christopher Martignoni was Prior General of the Carmelites from 1472 to 1481.

[53] Here, the word comedy (*comœdia*) seems to be used in the technical sense of a theatrical performance with a presumed happy ending.

[54] The implication of this rhetorical question is that we are being asked to believe that, once the Carmelites had obtained papal approval of their alleged earlier papal privileges as the result of a dramatic presentation for the benefit of the Pope, the said privileges had somehow disappeared.

[55] [108] *Curialium ministrorum acutiores oculos & testimonii debilitatem formidans Lezana, cum Romæ anno MDCXLVIII imprimeret Summæ Quæstionum Regularium tomum quintum, super Mare magnum Ordinum Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum S. Augustini, Carmelitarum cum ipsorum Regula, Servitarum & Minimorum (exemplo enim semel facto in Prædicatoribus & Minoribus, ceteri quoque certatim curavere simile omnium suorum Privilegiorum innovationem obtinere) non est ausus eidem inserere secundam istam Sixtinam; videns eam esse absque exemplo, & nolens illam exponere Canonistarum judiciis, a quibus suum illud opus multimodis eventilandum non dubitabat. Verum decennio post, elucubrans Annalium suorum Tomum 3, factusque successu confidentior, non quidem ipsam suspectam nobis Sixtinam inseruit Annalibus sed tamen ejus mentionem aliquam fecit ad annum 847, Leoninam bullam confirmans auctoritate Baptistæ Mantuani, de ea tamquam omnibus spectabili loquentis in Apologia: in tomo autem quarto, ad Sixti Pontificatum, ubi proprius locus erat agendi de Sixtina prædicta, rursum de ea altum silet, & solum de prima nobisque etiam indubitata loquitur. Quod ad ipsas Indulgentias tam antiquas attinet, legat qui volet ad XVII Martii nostrum de S. Patricio commentarium § 10, & judicabit Leoninas istas plane similes esse iis, quas Glastonienses tabulæ, sex fabulæ potius dicendæ, continent; ubi tum alia multa Patriciano ævo minus congrua dicuntur, tum ipse Patricius scribere fingitur, quod ultra decem annos Indulgentiæ, per*

nors, of the Hermits of St Augustine, of the Carmelites together with their Rule, of the Servites and of the Minims' (for by the example given once in the case of the Preachers and Minors, the others were also eagerly taking care to obtain a similar renewal of all their Privileges) at Rome in the year 1648,[56] de Lezana, dreading the sharper eyes of the Curial ministers and the weakness of the witnesses, did not dare to insert the same diploma according to that Sistine archive, seeing that it is without an example[57] and being unwilling to expose that thing to the judgements of the Canonists, by whom, he was not doubting, that work of his was needing to be sifted in many ways. Still, ten years later, composing the third tome of his Annals[58] with great labour, and having been made more confident by success, he did not, indeed, insert in the Annals the same Sistine diploma suspected by us but, nevertheless, he made a certain mention of it for the year 847, confirming the Leonine bull by the authority of Baptist of Mantua, just as the one speaking to all in the *Apologia* concerning it being there to be seen.[59] In the fourth tome concerning the Pontificate of Sixtus, however, where was the proper place for treating concerning the said Sistine archive, he is again supremely silent concerning it and he speaks only concerning the first and undoubted (and even by us) one.[60] For what belongs to those same Indulgences, so ancient, let whoever wishes read our commentary concerning St Patrick for March 17th, § 10,[61] and he or she will judge those Leonine ones to be clearly similar to those that the Glastonbury tables, better, the six fables they contain relating, then, where the many other things from the Patrician age are said to be less suitable, again it is supposed that Patrick himself wrote them, further that in that place 'ten years of Indulgence' having been sought through Saints Phaganus and Dermian from St Eleutherius,[62] the Pope, the same 'Br Patrick' himself 'acquired ten years from Pope Celestine of pious memory'.

SS. Phaganum & Derwianum loco isti impetratos a S. Eleutherio Papa, ipse Frater Patricius, a piæ memoriæ Cælestino Papa, annos duodecim acquisivit.

[56] See de Lezana O.Carm., *Summa quaestionum*, 5:1-36.

[57] It was without an example in the sense that no actual exemplar of the document in question was known to exist.

[58] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*.

[59] See ibid., 3:407-408.

[60] See ibid., 4:914-969.

[61] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 7 (Mar II):542-543 n. 10.

[62] Little is known about St Phaganus and St Dermian, who seem to have been contemporaries of Pope St Eleutherius (174-189).

109.[63] And, if it should be said that before him another mouth of Pontifical kindness had opened from which so much and so many privileges afterwards flowed forth, that these things had been said in favour of Honorius III should suffice lest the grace of benefit be lost to him among the Carmelites. By a conjecture that is without consideration, as it would appear, they introduce earlier approbations of the Order obtained from Alexander III and the same Innocent III, indeed, which if they had been dated at any time, the Carmelites would not have neglected to have remembered those things when they had recourse to Honorius III on account of the power of retaining the Albertine Rule. Undoubtedly Gregory IX remembered this one of Honorius, communicating 'salvation and the Apostolic blessing to the beloved sons, the Prior and Brothers of the Desert[64] of Mount Carmel' by means of the Bull dated 'Perugia, the 8th day counting back from the ides of April,[65] the 3rd year of the Pontificate, the 1230th year'[66] of Christ',[67] in which Bull he both displayed and confirmed the Rule in these words:

> We are bound by the watchfulness our office imposes on us to take great care ... wherefore, by the authority of these present [letters], we strictly forbid you in any way as for the rest to accept or presume to hold as your property the places of your hermitage, or pos-

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[63] [109] *Atque hæc pro Honorio III dixisse sufficiat, ne pereat ei apud Carmelitas beneficii gratia, si alius ante eum dicatur Pontificiæ beneficentiæ ostium aperuisse, unde tot tantaque postea privilegia emanarunt. Inducunt quidam, ex nuda, ut apparet, conjectura, approbationes Ordinis anteriores ab Alexandro III & Innocentio item III impetratas; quæ si datæ fuissent unquam, non omisissent illarum meminisse Carmelitæ, quando pro facultate retinendæ Regulæ Albertinæ recurrerunt ad Honorium III. Certe hujus Honorii unius meminit Gregorius IX, Dilectis filiis Priori & Fratribus Eremi montis Carmeli salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem impertiens, per Bullam datam Perusii, VIII Idus Aprilis, anno III Pontificatus, Christi MCCXXX, VIII Idus Aprilis, in qua Bulla Regulam & explicat & confirmat his verbis. Ex officii nostri debita circumspectione tenemur solicitam adhibere cautelam ... quare auctoritate præsentium districtius inhibemus, ne in proprietatem de cetero eremi vestræ, loca vel possessiones seu domos aut redditus alios recipiatis ullo modo aut præsumatis habere, præter asinos, mulos & aliquid animalium seu volatilium ad nutrimentum (lac scilicet & ova) ... Ad hæc etiam Regulam, approbatam a bonæ memoriæ Honorio Papa prædecessore nostro, & ab eo vobis traditam in remissionem peccatorum observandam, auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus, & in eodem loco perpetuis temporibus præcipimus observari.*

[64] The same Latin word *eremus* refers to a particular desert location, such as a hermitage, when it is masculine gender and to a desert or desert region when it is feminine gender. In the light of the explicit use of the feminine gender in the following paragraph, the same gender is presumed here.

[65] In modern terms, April 6th.

[66] Modern historians have corrected this date to 1229.

[67] Although, here, '*Idus Aprilis*' is in italics, it was, presumably, as the result of a typographical error that 'the 8th day counting back from the ides of April (VIII *Idus Aprilis*)' was repeated in the original.

sessions, or houses, or other income, except male asses and some rearing of animals or poultry.

for milk and eggs, you may be sure.

For these reasons we also confirm by apostolic authority the rule approved by Pope Honorius of happy memory our predecessor, and given to you by him to be observed for the remission of your sins; and we command it to be observed for ever in that place.[68]

110.[69] So far there was a single[70] 'desert', a single 'place' and it was on Carmel, nor did another later name than 'the Brothers of the Desert of Mount Carmel' become known to the Pontiff. Meanwhile Saraceni and, after that one, the author of the Readings falsely attributed to the

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[68] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 64-65.

[69] [110] *Hactenus eremus unica, locus unicus, isque in Carmelo Pontifici innotuerat, nec aliud sere nomen quam Fratrum Eremi montis Carmeli. Interim Saracenus & post illum auctor Lectionum Lateranensibus Regularibus falso attributarum, de Alberto fingunt, quod non solum monasterium in Carmelo reædificari mandavit (nullo quidem satis certo teste, non tamen ex toto incredibiliter quatenus aliqua sua liberalitate potuit Albertus Eremitas juvisse, ad multiplicandas cellas suas, aut eas communi septo muniendas) sed etiam quod Eremiticam vitam cœnobitarum more & dilatare & ampliare summa vigilantia studens, aliud apud Ptolemaida cœnobium ædificari curavit, & hoc idem præstitit in urbibus Tyri, Sareptæ, Sidonis, Tripolis, Libani; idque ante annum MCCVII, quo statuit Brocardum obiisse. Ast vitæ cœnobiticæ forma primum in Europa est superinducta eremiticæ: & anno MCCXXX adhuc in vivis erat Brocardus juxta Chronotaxim nostram, agens annum vitæ penultimum. Sub quo licet non fuerit Ordo Carmelum egressus, videtur tamen incrementum tale dedisse Dominus novellæ plantationi, ut, aucto vehementer numero & affluentibus eleemosynis, designati aut etiam reipsa ædificari potuerit ampliβima illa ecclesia, qua non vidisse se majorem retulit Palæonydoro, ut ait ipse lib. 3 cap., 10. Magister Willelmus civis Herlemensis, qui anno MCCCCLXXXIX fuerat cum multis in monte Carmeli, cellis omnibus destructis & pridem dilapsis in Europam Eremitis. Etenim hac occasione videntur apud Pontificem accusati Fratres, quod domos & bona acquirerent. Fortaβis etiam alii quidam Latini Eremitæ in Terra Sancta, ejusdem institutionis & Regulæ ambiebant societatem, ut inter quotidiana pericula a barbaris magis magisque invalescentibus se tutarentur melius, haberentque perfugium, ipso loci situ & incolentium multitudine se urum [sic. securum?] ab incursionibus: qui cum non tantum personas suas, sed etiam eremitoria fundulosque adjectos transcriberent in proprietatem eremi Carmelitanæ, & econtra Episcopi illa sibi ut ad ecclesiam devoluta vindicarent; visum est ad Pontificem recurrere, qui in precitata Bulla sic prohibuit posseβiones ullas haberi, ut tamen leniret dolorem repulsæ, innovando approbationem Regulæ. Imo eodem anno, tertio post priorem Bullam datam die, scilicet V Aprilis, idem Pontifex sic incipiens, Religionis vestræ meretur honestas, ut vos in Christi visceribus amplexantes, supplicationibus vestris, quantum cum Deo possumus, annuamus; ... personas, inquit, vestras & locum, in quo divino mancipati estis obsequio, sub BB. Petri & Pauli & nostra protectione suscipimus, & ipsius scripti patrocinio communimus. Annis post hæc viginti, Christi MCCL, similis omnino tenoris privilegium scribens Ordini Innocentius IV, non singulariter locum, sed loca pluraliter nominat, propter dicti Ordinis multiplicationem, per plures in variis regionibus conventus interea factam.*

[70] See the note on the Latin word *eremus* in n. 109.

Regulars of the Lateran, imagine concerning Albert that 'he commanded, not only that the monastery on Carmel be rebuilt' (by no sufficiently certain witness, indeed, not altogether incredibly, nevertheless, since, from his generosity in some manner, Albert could have assisted the Hermits, concerning their cells multiplying or concerning providing those cells with a common enclosure) but also that

> desiring with the greatest vigilance both to spread and increase the eremitical life in the manner of the coenobites, he caused another cloister to be built near Haifa and he brought about the same thing in the cities of Tyre, Sereptha, Sidon, Tripoli, Mount Lebanon.[71]

And that thing before the year 1207, in which he established that Brocard died.[72] But the form of coenobitic life having been first imposed on a desert[73] in Europe and, in the year 1230,[74] Brocard, then leading the penultimate year of his life, was as yet among the living, according to our determination of time. Under which year, one may say that the Order had not left Carmel. It seems, nevertheless, that the Lord gave such an increase to the new planting that, the number having grown very much and the almsgiving having increased, having arranged that either that church, which, to Palaeonydorus who 'returned did not perceive itself to be greater', as he himself says in book three, chapter ten,[75] could have been built to be also much more spacious. Master William, a citizen of Harlem, 'who in the year 1489 had been on the mountain of Carmel with a great number of people', all the cells having been destroyed and the Hermits having long ago been dispersed to Europe. For truly, on this occasion, the Brothers are seen as having been accused before the Pontiff that they had acquired houses and goods. Perhaps, indeed, the other Latin Hermits in the Holy Land were also seeking to gain the fellowship of the same institution and Rule so that, among the daily dangers from the Barbarians, they were more and more defending themselves better from those who were growing powerful, and were finding for themselves an asylum on the same site of the place and, by the multitude of the inhabitants, secure[76] from the attacks. Those who, since not only their own

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[71] See Saraceni, *Menologium Carmelitarum*, 263.

[72] See ibid.

[73] Here *eremiticae* seems to be used as a singular feminine noun in the dative, following *superposita*.

[74] This refers to the bull of Pope Gregory IX quoted in n. 109.

[75] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 115.

[76] As the result of a typographical error in the printing of the original, presumably, the word 'securum' is written 'se urum'.

people but also the hermitages and those little fish[77] having been thrown out [of hermitages] transferred into the property of the Carmelite desert[78] and, on the contrary, the Bishops were asserting a claim to that desert for themselves as having devolved to the church. The question was seen to return to the Pontiff,[79] who in the already mentioned Bull thus prohibited them to have any possessions so that, by the renewal of the approbation of the Rule, nevertheless, it was soothing the pain of having been refused. In reality, in the same year,[80] the third day after the first Bull having been given, April 5th, you may be sure, the same Pontiff beginning thus,

> The character of your religion merits that, embracing you in the inmost parts of Christ, we approve your supplications as much as, together with God, we can. ... your people,
>
> he says,
>
> and the place in which you were dedicated to the divine service, we take under the protection of the Blessed Peter and Paul, and ours, and we strengthen by the patronage of this writing.[81]

Twenty years after this, the 1250th of the Lord,[82] writing a privilege for the Order of an altogether similar content,[83] Innocent IV does not name a 'place' in the singular, but 'places' in the plural,[84] on account of the multiplication of the said Order having been done in the meantime throughout very many convents in various regions.

111.[85] What, however, if the said prohibition of Gregory IX will have driven Cyril, the successor of Brocard, to sending out colonies of

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[77] The Latin word *fundulus* refers to a small fish that stays near the bottom or deepest part of the water, see Charles du Fresne, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis conditum a Carolo du Fresne, Domino du Cange, auctum a monachis ordinis S. Benedicti cum supplementis integris D. P. Carpenterii adelungii, aliorum, suisque digessit G. A. L. Henschel sequuntur glossarium gallicum, tabulae, indices auctorum et rerum, dissertationes*, Edio nova aucta pluribus verbis aliorum scriptorum a Léopold Favre ed., 10 vols. (Niort: Favre, 1883-1887), fundulus.

[78] The word 'desert' seems to be used here in the sense of hermitage.

[79] Pope Gregory IX's.

[80] This refers to 1230, mentioned earlier, but the document was, in fact, written in 1229.

[81] See Pope Gregory IX's *Religionis vestrae* (1229) in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 63 page 1.

[82] In fact, the document is dated 1251.

[83] Religionis vestrae (1241).

[84] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 63 page 2.

[85] [111] *Quid autem si præfata Gregorii IX prohibitio impulerit Cyrillum, Brocardi*

his Hermits to those places of which possession could not have been retained at another time, and equally of freeing himself from the burden of a more abundant number of subjects by appointing someone from the older ones with the title of Vicar or Subprior in the individual places? In this way it is understood why the said Innocent IV, about to commend[86] the fugitives from Syria in the year 1246, pleaded as an excuse that 'on account of the assault of the pagans, they are unable to remain in the dwellings that they have in the regions beyond the seas',[87] intending, very likely, to intimate something more than one place on Carmel. In this way, also, it will have been possible, without hesitation, to have believed what the author of the Chronicle[88] concerning the loss of the monasteries of the Holy Land and concerning the multiplication of the order throughout Europe wrote. If this author is everywhere sincere, however, for this

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successorem, ad ea loca, quorum alias non poterat retineri posseßio, emittendi colonias suorum Eremitarum, seque pariter exonerandi numero abundantiori subditorum, singulis locis præponendo e senioribus aliquem cum titulo Vicarii aut Supprioris? Ita intelligetur cur prædictus Innocentius IV, anno MCCXLVI commendaturus ex Syria profugos, excuset quod propter incursus paganorum, nequeant in mansionibus, quas habent in transmarinis partibus, commorari; plus aliquid quam unum in Carmelo locum intendens verosimiliter significare. Ita etiam poterit sine scrupulo credi, quod scripsit auctor Chronicæ de perditione monasteriorum Terræ-sanctæ ac de multiplicatione ordinis per Europam: si tamen usquequaque sincerus est hic auctor; nam hoc dubium reddit annus datæ Regulæ, qui intra centum annos non potuit in tantam oblivionem venisse, ut auctor anno MCCXCI vivens, scriberet datam esse MCXCIX. Enumerat autem ille qualiscumque auctor loca decem aut duodecim, atque concludit; Omnia autem prædicta monasteria sumpserunt institutionem & Regulam a monasterio montis Carmeli, & fuerunt subjecta dicto monasterio & ejus Priori: quod de eremitoriis intellectum potuit verificari, saltem sub Cyrillo, nulla hactenus in contrarium auctoritate obstante. Potuit etiam sub eodem Cyrillo vel paulo ante extremis Brocardi annis esse inductus usus, quo vel ipsi eremitæ seipsos nuncupabant Fratres B. Mariæ de Monte Carmelo, ut qui eam pro singularißima sua Patrona habebant; vel ita incipiebat eos nominare vulgus, propter ecclesiam quam ei noviter erexerant & magna haud dubie celebritate dedicarant, sicut in Italia Religiosos aliquos videmus nuncupari ab ecclesiæ suæ Patrono. Apostolica tamen Sedes, quæ sub Honorio III cœperat usurpare simplex nomen Eremitarum montis Carmeli, eodem uti perrexit usque post annum MCCL, quo B. Simoni apparens Virgo Maria, omnem ei ab Innocentio IV favorem appromisit; qui in datis postea Brevibus incepit eo nomine compellare Fratres, quo ipsi in Capitulo ut putamus Aylesfordiensi anni MCCXLV semper & ubique nominandos se decreverant, & vulgo paßim appellabantur in Europa. Nam quod in speculo Ordinis, primum Gregorii IX Breve, post approbatam ab Honorio, suasu beatißimæ Virginis ipsi per visum apparentis, Regulam, anno immediate secuto datum, titulum Eremitarum S. Mariæ de Carmelo usurpavit, consecutionem non habuit, uti apparet ex datis postea Diplomatis pluribus, etiam ipsius Innocentii IV ante annum prædictum.

[86] On the replacement of *commendaturos* with *commendaturus* in the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*.:9 (Apr I):910

[87] See Pope Innocent IV *Paganorum incursus* (1246) in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 61 page 1.

[88] The Chronicle in question, attributed to Sibert de Beka O.Carm., was the ninth of the *Ten Books* of Philip Ribot O.Carm..

doubt returns, that the year of the Rule having been given, which could not have gone into such oblivion within a hundred years, that the author living in the year 1291 wrote that it was given in 1199.[89] That author, however, lists the ten or twelve places of whatever kind and concluded:

> All the already mentioned monasteries, however, appropriated to themselves the institution and the Rule from the monastery of Mount Carmel, and they were subject to the said monastery and to its Prior.[90]

Which, no authority so far opposing, could, on the other hand, have been understood to be verified concerning the hermitages, at least under Cyril. The usage by which the same hermits were calling themselves 'The Brothers of the Blessed Mary from Mount Carmel' could also either have been introduced under the same Cyril or a little before, in the final years of Brocard, so that they were having her for their most particular Patroness, or, just as we see other Religious in Italy being named from the church of their Patron, the multitude was beginning to name them in this way on account of the church that they had newly erected to her and, without doubt, had dedicated with a great solemnity. The Apostolic See, nevertheless, which under Honorius III had begun to make use of the simple name of 'The Hermits of Mount Carmel', the same by which the Virgin Mary appearing to Bl. Simon, in her own name promised every favour to him from Innocent IV, who in the Briefs afterwards began to address the Brothers with that name by which the same ones decreed they themselves were always and everywhere needing to be named in the Chapter, as we deem it, of Aylesford in the year 1245, and by which they were generally being called by the multitude in Europe, continued to be used up to after the year 1250. For, in the *Speculum* of the Order, after the Rule had been approved by Honorius, having been persuaded by means of the face of the Most Blessed Virgin appearing to him,[91] the first Brief of Gregory IX, in the year immediately following the approval being given, made use of the title of 'Hermits of St Mary from Carmel' but this did not have further consequences before the already mentioned year of the same Innocent IV, as would appear from the very many Diplomas given afterwards.[92]

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[89] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 35 page 2.

[90] See ibid., 36 page 1.

[91] This comment is not based on the cited text from Cattaneo, which is the source of the reference to Gregory IX's *Providi more* (1227). See de la Vierge Marie O.Carm., *Vinea Carmeli*, 69 n. 112, 70 n. 118, 425 n. 776; Gridzinski, *Diva Virgo Cracoviensis Carmelitaha in Arenis seu Violeto*, 4; Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 3:5 (48).

[92] See Gregory IX's *Providi more* (1227) in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 63 page 1.

Chapter 11

The Albertine Rule Augmented and Mitigated by the Roman Pontiffs.[1]

To a more enlarged Order in Europe, the augmented and mitigated Rule from Innocent IV in the year 1247, by means of Commissioners, according to the written supplication of the General and the Definitors: in it the Profession of the three vows is prescribed, the appropriate designation of places, the use of a common refectory, and the recitation of the hours together with the clerics. Something in the case of poverty and abstinence is eased. In the year 1274, until something else is established, Gregory X permitted [them] to adopt the exercises introduced in relation to the neighbour, with the loss of prior solitude. A new mitigation concerning the eating of meats is granted in the years 1435[2] and 1488.[3]

112.[4] The migration to Europe having been decreed after the death of St Cyril, the Order gradually scattered itself and, just as the sprout

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[1] *CAPUT XI. Regula Albertina a Romanis Pontificibus aucta & mitigata.*

[2] This date would seem to be an error, see n. 120.

[3] *Auctiori in Europa Ordini, augetur & mitigatur Regula ab Innocentio IV an. 1247, per Commissarios, ad supplicationem Generalis & Definitorum: in ea præscribitur Professio trium votorum, apta locorum designatio, vsus communis refectorij,& Horarum cum clericis recitatio: relaxatur aliquid in paupertate & abstinentia. Exercitia erga proximum, cum prioris solitudinis dispendio inducta, usurpare permittit Gregor. X an. 1274 donec aliud statuatur. Nova mitigatio circa esum carnium, indulgetur an. 1435 & 1488.*

[4] [112] *Decreta post S. Cyrilli obitum migratione in Europam, paulatim sese diffudit Ordo & tamquam generosi seminis surculus, ex squallenti siticulosoque deserto in agrum translatus irriguum, brevi tempore mirabiliter profecit. Novos ex Asia homines primæ exceperunt insulæ, Cyprus, Sicilia, Anglia, ubi cum plura succrevissent eremitoria, potius quam domicilia, in tres Provincias divisa est Ordinis administratio, quæ eatenus sub uno Priore constiterat: titulus autem Terræ-sanctæ remansit iis qui habitabant in Cypro, quem Petrus Raymundi Generalis XV, anno MCCCXLII electus, sua auctoritate confirmavit. Dum augentur hoc modo Eremitæ, auctus etiam iis honor est, & nemine amplius refragante perrexerunt inter Ordines religiosos numerari. Augenda quoque nonnullis in locis Regula, in nonnullis visa est mitiganda, ut quæ jam non uni cœtui, ad quod instituta erat; sed Congregationi, per multa loca sparsæ & per plura spargendæ, deberet inservire. Rem cordi habuit*

of a seed of good stock, transplanted from a neglected and arid desert into a well-watered field, in a short time it increased marvellously. The new ones from Asia took to themselves the first islands, Cyprus, Sicily, England, where, since a great many hermitages, better than dwellings, had grown up, the administration of the Order was divided into three Provinces, which will have corresponded with being to that extent under one Prior. The title of the Holy Land, however, was left to those who were living on Cyprus, whom Pietro Raimondo [de Grassa], the fifteenth General, elected in the year 1342, confirmed by his authority. While the Hermits were increased in this way, the esteem was also increased and, by there being nobody from those opposing these ones being numbered among the religious 'Orders' any more, they will have continued. The Rule also was seen to be needing to be augmented in some places, mitigated in others, so that those things would serve, not the one union for which it had been already instituted, but the association, scattered throughout many places and needing to be scattered throughout more. Innocent IV, created Pontiff in the year 1243, had the matter at heart and, in the fifth year of his Pontificate, he published this beginning:

113.[5]

> Innocent, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, bids health and apostolic blessing to his beloved sons the prior and hermit brothers of the order of Mount Carmel. Whatever is for the honour of the Creator of all and the profit of souls should always be given strong support, but especially those things in which the authority of the Apostolic See is known to have taken a benevolent interest. Through our beloved son Hugh, Cardinal presbyter of the title of Saint Sabina, and our venerable brother William, Bishop of Antarados, we have at your request caused certain doubtful points in your rule to be clarified and corrected, and also certain burdensome obliga-

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Innocentius IV, anno MCCXLIII creatus Pontifex, & sui Pontificatus anno V constitutionem edidit hoc principio.

[5] [113] *Innocentius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis filiis Priori & Fratribus Eremitis de monte Carmeli, salutem & Apostolicam benedictionem. Quæ honorem Conditoris omnium & profectum continent animarum, roboris præsidio sunt fulcienda perpetui: sed illa præcipue, super quæ Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritas salubris providentiæ studium noscitur habuisse. Cum itaque nos ad vestræ supplicationis instantiam, per dilectum filium Hugonem tituli S. Sabinæ Presbyterum Cardinalem, & Venerabilem Fratrem nostrum Willelmum Anteradensem Episcopum, quædam Regulæ vestræ dubia declarari & corrigi, ac etiam quædam ipsius gravia misericorditer fecerimus mitigari, prout in litteris inde confectis plenius continetur; Nos vestris piis supplicationibus annuentes, declarationem & correctionem ac mitigationem hujusmodi auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus. Tenorem vero litterarum ipsarum de verbo ad verbum fecimus præsentibus annotari, qui talis est.*

tions to be compassionately mitigated, as is more fully contained in the latter drawn up by them; we therefore acceding to your respectful wishes, confirm the said clarification, correction, and mitigation by apostolic authority, and corroborate them by the present document. Moreover, we have caused the tenor of their letter to be annexed, word for word, to this present one, namely:

114.[6]

Brother Hugh, by the mercy of God Cardinal presbyter of the title of Saint Sabina, and Brother William, by the same mercy Bishop of Antarados, bid health in him who is the Health of all to their beloved sons in Christ, the religious Prior General and Definitors of the General Chapter of the Order of the Brothers of Carmel.[7]

Note in what manner they assert in front of this thing titles accumulated in a more exaggerated manner than the Pontiff makes use of: the 'Prior General' and the 'Definitors of the General Chapter', lest you could doubt that, the Order having been divided into three, we have said, the Provinces already began, then, to be ruled according to the norm of the other Mendicants in many places: for the Franciscans and the Augustinian Hermits were calling Definitors those to whom, having been elected by the ballots, whatever more weighty matters were committed as needing to be arranged and determined. The Commissioners continue:

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[6] [114] *Frater Hugo miseratione divina Tit. S. Sabinæ Presbyter Cardinalis, & Frater Willelmus eadem miseratione Anteradensis Episcopus, carissimis in Christo filiis, religiosis viris, Priori Generali & Definitoribus Capituli Generalis, Ordinis Fratrum gloriosissimæ Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariæ de monte Carmeli, salutem in omni salutari. Observa titulos, præ eo quam usurpat Pontifex exaggeratius cumulatos: Priorem Generalem ac Generalis Capituli Definitores dicunt; ne dubitare poßis, jam tunc in Provincias, quas diximus, tres divisum Ordinem, cœpisse ad normam aliorum Mendicantium in multis regulari: Definitores enim Franciscani, & Eremitæ Augustiniani nuncupabant eos, ad quos suffragiis electos majora quæque negotia dirigenda ac definienda committebantur. Pergunt Commissarii. Accedentes ad Apostolicam Sedem Fratres Clerici Raynaldus & Petrus Ordinis vestri, ex parte vestra, a Domino Papa humiliter postularunt, ut quædam quæ in vestro privilegio & Regula, olim vobis a felicis memoriæ Alberto Patriarcha Hierosolymitano tradita, continentur dubia, declarare, corrigere, & quædam gravia misericorditer mitigare dignaretur. Cum igitur Dominus Papa eorum devotis supplicationibus annuendo, nobis commiserit, ut declarationem, correctionem ac mitigationem hujusmodi faceremus vice ipsius, secundum quod bono statui Ordinis & Fratrum saluti expediens videremus; Religioni vestræ qua fungimur auctoritate mandamus, quatenus Regulam a nobis correctam, declaratam & mitigatam, prout expedire vidimus, devote recipientes, eam firmiter observetis, & ad instar ejusdem alias vestras Regulas corrigatis, quam vobis per eosdem fratres sub sigillis nostris mittimus in hac forma.*

[7] See Pope Innocent IV, *Quae honorem* (1247) in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 74 page 2.

> Brothers Reginald and Peter, clerics of your Order, approaching the Holy See, humbly requested the Lord Pope on your behalf that he would deign to clarify and correct certain doubtful points contained in your privilege[8] and the rule given to you in time past by the late Albert, Patriarch of Jerusalem, and compassionately mitigate certain burdensome obligations. The Lord Pope, acceding to their devoted petitions, committed to us the task of making this clarification, correction, and mitigation in his place, as the good estate of the Order and the welfare of the brothers might seem to us to demand; and we therefore command your Order, by the authority conferred on us, to receive with devotion and steadfastly observe the Rule corrected, clarified, and mitigated by us as we have seen fit, and to correct your other rules[9] in accordance with this, which we send you by the same brothers, under our seals, in the following form:
>
> 115.[10]
>
> Albert, called by the grace of God to be Patriarch of the Church of Jerusalem etc.[11]

as above.[12] Here it will be sufficient to note those things that were added or changed, and at the same time to learn how, the first institution of the eremitical[13] profession having been dissolved, the Carmelite Order

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[8] This refers, presumably, to the apostolic letter of Pope Gregory IX, *Ex officii* (1229).

[9] This, presumably, is a reference to the copies of Albert's Formula of Life that, up to then, has been their 'rule'.

[10] [115] *Albertus Dei gratia Hierosolymitanæ Ecclesiæ vocatus Patriarcha &c. ut supra: hic satis erit notare ea quæ addita vel mutata sunt, simulque cognoscere, quomodo Ordo Carmeliticus magis magisque accesserit paulatim ad cœnobiticæ vitæ formam, quam nunc servat, dimisso primo eremiticæ profeßionis instituto. Nam primo, quia in eo aliud nihil expresse voverant quam obedientiam Priori servandam juxta caput 1, verebanturque Fratres, ne absque explicita trium religiosorum votorum profeßione, negarent aliqui pro vere Religiosis habendos Carmelitas (ex vulgi scilicet imperiti sensu, nam explicita trium votorum profeßio usitata non fuit in monachatu veteri, & ne nunc quidem apud Benedictinos usurpatur) cautum est ut adderetur promittendam, servandamque obedientiam cum castitate & abdicatione proprietatis. Atque hinc iterum judicet Lector, cujus ætatis fuerit qui librum de institutione monachorum scripsit, cum de tribus religiosis votis distinctißime agens concludat, trium votorum observantiam cum caritate perfectum facere Religiosum, quod ante mendicantium tempora numquam fuit tam clare expressum.*

[11] See Pope Innocent IV, *Quae honorem* (1247) in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 74 page 2-75 page 1.

[12] See n. 44.

[13] Although *eremiticae*, here, could be translated as the noun, 'desert' (as in nn. 41, 55, 110 and 134) or as the adjective, 'eremitical' (as in nn. 42, 45, 69, 110 and 118), the earlier adjectival use of the term, 'eremitical profession', in n. 42 suggests that the same term should be used here. Since the earlier designation 'hermits' is retained in the opening phrase, the distinction would seem to be between the first and second institutions of

more and more will gradually have come to the cenobitical form of life, which it now observes. For, in the first [institution], because in it they expressly vowed nothing other than obedience to the Prior needing to be observed, according to chapter one, and the Brothers were afraid lest, without the profession of the three religious vows having been stated, some would deny the Carmelites needing to be truly considered to be the same as Religious (from the rabble's, you may be sure, the ignorant individual's view, for the profession of the three vows had not been stated in the old monasticism and it is not made use of now among the Benedictines, indeed), it took care that needing to promise, and to observe, obedience 'together with chastity and the abdication of property' was added. And hence, let the Reader again judge of whose age he had been who wrote the book concerning the institution of the monks, when, most distinctly treating concerning the three religious vows, he concludes that 'the observance of the three vows, together with charity, makes the complete Religious', which before the times of the Mendicants had never been so clearly expressed.

116.[14] Finally, seeing that, at this time, and especially having been planted here and there, they began to live, not in one place, as under Albert, but in very many, concerning which matter there was nothing established in the Rule of Albert, a new chapter was fashioned in these words:

> You can, however, have [dwelling] places in solitary places, or where they are given to you, convenient and appropriate for the observance of your [particular form of] devout life according to that which is seen to be expedient by the Prior and the brothers.

'eremitical profession', rather than between the first institution of 'eremitical profession' and a later institution that was not one of 'eremitical profession'.

[14] [116] *Deinde, quoniam non jam in uno loco, ut sub Alberto; sed in pluribus & maxime dißitis cœperant habitare, qua de re nihil erat in Alberti regula constitutum; conditur novum caput his verbis: Loca autem habere poteritis in eremis vel ubi vobis donata fuerint, ad vestræ Religionis observantiam apta & commoda, secundum quod Priori & Fratribus videbitur expedire. Nota, Vestræ religionis: hæc tunc erat loquendi formula, olim non item: ex quo etiam capite recte Pseudo Ioannem Bivarius arguit novitatis, qui identidem atque ad nauseam usurpat appellationem Hujus nostræ Religionis. Circa constitutionem separatarum cellularum (quales etiam nunc in Ordine Camaldulensi, & quadamtenus in Carthusiano habentur) innovatum est nihil, neque nunc neque postea per ordinationem scriptam; solus usus commodior & regulatior unius majoris domus, in ceteris Europæis monasteriis observatus, tacite ac paulatim abrogavit aut mitigavit Regulam: tantum nunc additum est, Ita tamen habendas separatim cellas, ut non, sicut antea, in iis seorsim singuli cibum caperent, quod prædicti Camaldulenses & Carthusianensi servant; sed in communi, inquiunt Commissarii, refectorio, ea quæ vobis erogata fuerint (communiter aliquam lectionem sacræ Scripturæ audiendo) ubi commode fieri potest, sumatis.*

Note, 'of your [particular form of] devout life'. This was, then, the formula needing to be said; it was not the same at one time. From which chapter also, de Bivar rightly accuses Pseudo-John,[15] who constantly and to a ridiculous degree makes use of the title 'of this our devout life', of novelty.[16] Concerning the regulation of separate cells (which are also now made use of in the Camaldolese Order and, up to a certain point, in the Carthusian) nothing was altered by means of a written order, either now or afterwards, only the more opportune and more regulated use of a bursar, observed in the other European monasteries: silently and by degrees it abrogated and mitigated the Rule. Now was added only, 'Therefore, nevertheless' those needing to have cells separately, not, as before, 'so that' the individuals took [their] food in them separately, which the said Camaldolese and Carthusians observe, but, the Commissioners say, 'that you eat those things that may have been given to you in a common refectory, listening communally to some reading of holy Scripture'.

117.[17] The beginning of the sixth chapter is changed in this manner:

> Those who know how to say the canonical hours with the clerics should say them according to the constitution of the holy fathers and the approved custom of the Church.

From which we gather that the Clerics who were in the Order had, then, and, perhaps, from the time of St Cyril, after the construction of the new church, already been accustomed to assemble inside the church for the common recitation of the Office. To whom, also, those who were not Clerics will have been able to unite themselves, or even that they ought to,

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[15] From the context, this title probably refers to Philip Ribot.

[16] See de Bivar OCist, *De veteri monachatu, et regulis monasticis, libri VI*, 66.

[17] [117] *Sexti Capitis initium mutatur hoc modo: Hi qui Horas Canonicas cum Clericis dicere norunt, eas dicant secundum institutiones Sanctorum Patrum & Ecclesiæ approbatam consuetudinem. Vnde colligimus Clericos, qui in Ordine erant, consuetos fuisse iam tum, & forte a tempore S. Cyrilli post ecclesiæ novæ constructionem, ad communem Officii recitationem intra ecclesiam conuenire: quibus vt etiam non Clerici, si litteras noverint, se poßint adiungere, aut etiam debeant, hic statuitur. De cantu quando inductus in Ordinem sit, non invenio: exemplo & æmulatione aliorum Mendicantium assumptum fuisse non dubitaverim. Septimi Capitis finis, quo jubebantur Eremitæ singulariter, ex his quæ distributa fuerint, in suis cellis vivere, id est, vesci, usu communis refectorii jam præscripto, aboletur: pro eoque substituuntur verba, ex Gregorii IX supra relata Constitutione, Asinos sive mulos, prout vestra expostulaverit necessitas, vobis habere liceat, & aliquid animalium sive volatilium ad nutrimentum. Caput XI, quo prohibetur usus carnium, visum est egere mitigatione aliqua, ideoque additur: Et quia vos oportet frequenter mendicare itinerantes, ne sitis hospitibus onerosi, extra domos vestras sumere poteritis pulmenta cocta cum carnibus: sed & carnibus supra mare vesciilicebit. Tempus denique si entii [sic. silentii?], quod definiebatur Capite XIV sic describitur, Statuimus ut dicto Completorio silentium teneatis, usque ad Primam dictam sequentis diei.*

if they will have known [their] letters, is established here. Concerning the chanting, I do not learn when it was introduced into the Order. I will not have doubted that it had been adopted from the example and emulation of the other Mendicants. The end of the seventh chapter, by which the Hermits were individually told to live in their cells[18] 'from those things that will have been distributed', that is, being fed, is abolished by the use of the already prescribed common refectory. And, instead of this, the words from the Constitution of Gregory IX repeated above are substituted: You may, however, have asses, or, according to your expressed need, mules, and some rearing of animals or poultry. Chapter 11, in which the use of meats is prohibited, was seen to need some mitigation, and, on that account, there is added:

> And, because you must more frequently beg on journeys, lest you be burdensome to your hosts, outside your own houses you may eat soups or stews cooked with meat; as also to eat meats will be permitted at sea.

The time of silence that was defined,[19] finally, is described in this way by chapter 14:

> ... we lay down that, when Compline has been said, you are to observe silence right up to the following day's Prime having been said.

118.[20] Having obtained that mitigation, and the Order having transferred from the rigour of the eremitical life to the moderation of the ce-

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[18] Apparently as a typographical error, the Latin words 'in suis cellis vivere' are in italics, suggesting, as is not in fact the case, that they are a quotation from the original document.

[19] Apparently as a typographical error, the word *silentii* is written *si entii*.

[20] [118] *Hac mitigatione obtenta, & ab eremiticæ vitæ rigore ad moderationem cœnobiticæ traducto Ordine; nisi quod eremitoria seu monasteria construerentur non intra urbes sed in suburbanis silvulis hortisve; cœperunt plurimi, Theologica facultate, antequam ad Ordinem acceßissent, exculti, de expresso Innocentii IV consensu per Breve expeditum anno MCCLIV, exemplo Mendicantium aliorum, divini verbi prædicationi, confeßionum auditioni, & similibus erga proximos exercitiis intendere, eoque prætextu bini & bini discurrere per civitates; cum fructu fortaßis non exiguo, sed tamen cum offensione haud parum graviori eorum, qui primævam Ordinis formam zelantes, magnam futuris temporibus dissolutionem disciplinæ veteris prospiciebant. Inter hos Nicolaus Gallicus fuit, post mortem B. Simonis Stok sub annum MCCLXV Generalis Prior, & anno post suam electionem quinto librum composuit, quem Sagittas igneas nominavit. Servatur is hactenus manuscriptus, ex eoque Wastelius sect. 5 art. 3 profert emißiones aliquas vere ignitas atque idoneas, ad amorem ferventem manutenendæ solitudinis in pectore quantumvis gelido excitandum: sed ad eo nihil his profectum est, ut vir Sanctus maluerit discedere Generalatu, quam eam, ut credebat, labem, sub imperio suo ingravescentem perpeti.*

nobitic, except that the hermitages or monasteries were constructed, not within the cities, but in the little woods or gardens near the cities, a great number, having been polished by a Theological faculty before they will have come to the Order, from the example of the other Mendicants, by the express consent by means of a Brief of Innocent IV sent in the year 1254,[21] began to direct their attention to the preaching of the divine word, the hearing of confessions, and similar exercises in relation to neighbours, and, on this pretext, to wander through the city two at a time, with, perhaps, no inconsiderable fruit, but, nevertheless, with an offence that was hardly a little more grievous to them who, being zealous for the manner of the Order in the first period of its life, were foreseeing a great dissolution of the old discipline in future times. Among these was Nicholas the Frenchman, and, after the death of Bl. Simon Stock, Prior[22] General in the year 1245, he composed a book that he named *Fiery arrows* in the fifth year after his election. So far, this manuscript is preserved, and from it Wasteels in section five, article three,[23] brings forth some suitable things darting forth and having been ignited for awakening the fervent love of solitude needing to be maintained in a breast however icy cold it may be. But nothing was accomplished by these things to such a degree that, the disgrace that he bore steadfastly, as he believed, growing burdensome under his direction, the Holy man preferred to forsake the position of General.[24]

119.[25] Meanwhile, complaints concerning those and other things were increasing before Gregory X, who in the Constitution edited by him,

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[21] See Innocent IV, *Devotionis augmentum* (1254), in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 69 pages 1-2.

[22] On the replacement of *Priori* with *Prior* in the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*.:9 (Apr I):910

[23] The section referred to makes no reference to Nicholas the Frenchman, see Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:117-128 (5:3). What is described, however, is similar to what is found elsewhere in the volume, see ibid., 2:112-114 (5.1), 205 (5:15).

[24] Nicholas resigned his position as Prior General in 1271.

[25] [119] *Interim de his aliisque crebrescebant querelæ apud Gregorium X, qui in Constitutione a se edita, anno Pontificatus IV Christi MCCLXXIV, ceteros quidem Mendicantes, post Concilium Lateranense subinductos & necdum Apostolicæ Sedis approbationem commeritos, censuit supprimendos, jubens eos interea ab omni erga proximum exercitio abstinere: de quatuor autem eatenus approbatis, ita edixit: Sane quoad Prædicatorum & Minorum Ordines, quos evidens ex eis utilitas Ecclesiæ universali proveniens perhibet approbatos, præsentem non patimur constitutionem extendi. Ceterum Carmelitarum & Eremitarum S. Augustini Ordines, quorum institutio Concilium Generale præcessit, in suo statu manere concedimus. Intendimus siquidem, tam de illis quam de reliquis etiam non mendicantibus Ordinibus, prout animarum saluti & eorum statui expedire viderimus, providere. Hæc ibi: neque gravius deinceps quidquam statutum est, sed potius major ad populum agendi indulta*

in the fourth year of the Pontificate, the 1274th year of Christ, the other Mendicants having been secretly introduced after the Lateran Council, indeed, and the approbation of the Apostolic See having not yet been obtained, was of the opinion that they needed to be suppressed, ordering them in the meantime to abstain from every exercise in relation to the neighbour. Concerning the four approved so far, however, he, better decreed in this way:

> We do not allow the present constitution to be extended as far as the Orders of the Preachers and Minors, certainly, whom the obvious usefulness to the universal Church coming forth from them affords [their] having been approved. We grant that the other Orders of the Carmelites and the Hermits of St Augustine, whose institution preceded the ... General Council, may remain in their status. Since indeed we intend, as much concerning those ones as concerning the remaining Orders that are not mendicants, to discern their status according as we will have seen to procuring the salvation of souls.[26]

These things then. Nor was anything more weighty established in succession, but, better, a great indulgence, a freedom of acting for the people, and almost all those privileges conceded in this matter, by which the Preachers and Minors were being augmented, which one will be permitted to read more fully in the *magnum*,[27] and by which, from an individual Pope, and how many [privileges], together with the commendation of the Order, were given, are recognised.

120.[28] The Rule having been again mitigated in this way, it is the very one that all the Carmelites observed everywhere for a long time,

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libertas, ac ea fere omnia concessa in hanc rem privilegia, quibus Prædicatores Minoresque cumulabantur: quæ plenius in Mari magno licebit legere, & a quo Pontifice singula, quantaque cum Ordinis commendatione sint data, recognoscere.

[26] See Gregory X, *Religionum diversitatem* (1274), in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 70 page 1.

[27] This refers to the papal bull, *Mare magnum* (1476).

[28] [120] *Regula porro sic mitigata, ipsa est, quam diu omnes ubique Carmelitæ servarunt, etiam cum in urbes immigratum a plerisque est; & quam nunc servari a Carmelitis discalceatis observat Cherubinus Laertius in Bullario, addens alios Carmelitas, Mitigatos dici, qui eamdem Regulam solum observant cum nova mitigatione, facta ab Eugenio IV, in cujus Bulla, anno MCCCCXXXV data die XV Martii, hæc habentur § 1. Pro parte dilectorum filiorum Joannis Faci, Magistri Generalis ac Provincialium & Claustralium Priorum & universorum Fratrum Ordinis B. Mariæ de monte Carmelo, nuper expositum est, quod in certis Capitibus Regulæ, Fratribus dicti Ordinis per bonæ memoriæ Albertum Patriarcham Hierosolymitanum traditæ, inter cetera cavetur expresse, quod Fratres prædicti Ordinis ab esu carnium abstineant &c. Rigorem hunc Pontifex mitigat, & concedit tribus diebus sin-*

and also when their abode was moved by very many into the cities, and Laerzio Cherubini observes in the *Bullarium* that it is that which is now observed by 'the Discalced Carmelites', adding that the other 'Carmelites', 'the Mitigated' being said, who alone observe the same Rule together with the new mitigation having been made by Eugene IV, in whose Bull, given on the 15th day of March in the year 1435,[29] these things are found in § 1:

> To the best of the ability of the beloved sons, John Facy, the Master General, and the Provincials and the Priors of Cloisters and all the Brothers of the Order of Blessed Mary from Mount Carmel, it was explained recently, that in certain Chapters of the Rule handed town to the Brothers of the said Order by means of Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem of good memory, that the Brothers of the said Order should abstain from the eating of meats ...

This Pontiff mitigates the inflexibility and, having made an exception of the days prohibited by the law common to all, allows [them] to be fed with meats on three 'days[30] of the individual weeks'.[31]

After that, Sixtus IV gave permission to the General of the Order that he might add many days[32] and, out of the power of this indult, it was also dispensed on the second feria[33] in the year 1488.

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gularum septimanarum, exceptis diebus communi omnibus lege prohibitis, vesci carnibus. Sixtus deinde IV Ordinis Generali permisit, ut plures dies adderet, atque ex hujus indulti vi dispensatum anno MCCCCLXXXVIII est etiam in feria II.

[29] This would seem to be a typographical error, since the text cited gives the year as 1431. Apparently mistaking the month, Rodrígues records the date 'the 15th day counting back from the calends of May, 1431 (*millesimo quadringentesimo trigesimo primo, quinto decimo kalendas Maij*)', April 18th 1431, and, apparently misreading the century, Cattaneo recorded the date as '1331, the 15th day counting back from the calends of March (*M.cccxxxi. xv. Kl. Marcii*)', February 15th 1331, see Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 66 page 1; Rodrígues OFM, *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm*, 180.

[30] Since the days prohibited by the law common to all were Wednesday and Friday, the days on which the eating of meats could be allowed were Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays and Sundays. Pope Pius II's *Ad hoc divina* (1459) refers to the Carmelites being allowed to eat meat two days of the week, in addition to Sunday, see *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm*, 180.

[31] See Cherubini, *Bullarium, sive Nova collectio plurimarum constitutionum apostolicarum diversorum Romanorum Pontificum, a Beato Leone Primo usque ad... Paulum Quintum, quae amplioribus quam antea locubrationibus illustrata... in lucem prodit*, 1:271 § 1.

[32] See Sixtus IV, *Mare magnum* (1476), in Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 84 page 2-92 page 1; Rodrígues OFM, *Nova Collectio Et Compilatio Privilegiorvm Apostolicorvm Regvlarivm*, 139-146.

[33] In modern terms, Monday. In 1488, the General Chapter at La Rochelle allowed meat to be eaten throughout the Order on Mondays, implying that it had not been one of the days of abstinence up to then. From then on, the days on which meat could be eaten were Sunday, Monday and two further days that did not include Wednesday or Friday.

Chapter 12

Concerning the *Carpita* or the Barred Cape, Granted to the Carmelites by Albert.[1]

Since Elijah is represented by this [Barred Cape] in an old painting, it was that upper, and striped, vestment, of such a kind as was encompassing the cloak with a stripe, and just as from the position for the more exalted ones, from having hitherto often been used only by the episcopate. Having been exempted from the power of the Ordinary by the legislator, Albert, the Carmelites were united with a cloak according to the form of the Basilians in Syria, as the Order is understood as having been born in the same place. *Carpita* is the name of this cloak; it is Italian, meaning a piece of cloth variegated in a striped manner; those stripes, however, having been decreed in the General Chapter to be only seven, designated the fullness of the spirit, and, just as bars,[2] were woven from goats' wool into the Syrian cloth: whether the Carmelites used the cloak, but the simple one, before Albert, is uncertain: that vestment was being given, however, without a change of the first name,[3] or without distinguishing between the great and the small habit.[4]

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[1] *CAPUT XII. De Carpita sive cappa barrata, Carmelitis ab Alberto concessa.*

[2] Since Papenbroeck uses the two forms *barae* and *barrae*, in the text of n. 128, the form *baerae* used here may be a typographical error.

[3] This refers to the common practice of people changing their first name when making religious profession, which did not happen when the early Carmelites received their *carpita*, see n.129.

[4] *Vestis ea superior erat & virgulata, cum hac in veteri pictura exprimitur Elias: tales virga pallium circumeuntes, & solu Episcopatu eatenus usitatæ, tamquam gradu sublimioribus; Carmelitis ab Ordinarii potestate exemptis, communicantur ab Alberto legislatore, cum pallio ad formam Basilianorum in Syria, ut ibidem natus Ordo intelligatur. Pallii istius nomen Carpita, Italicum est, pannum virgulatim variegatum significans: virgæ autem hæ in Capitulo gen. septem tantum esse jussæ, spiritus plenitudinem denotabant, & tamquam bæræ, intextæ erant panno Syrico ex lana caprina: an ante Albertum pallio, sed simplici, usi Carmelitæ incertum: dabatur autem vestis illa sine nominis primi mutatione, aut magni parvique habitus distinctione.*

121.[5] In the supplement of the Chronicles, Filippo [Foresti] from Bergamo speaks in this way for the year 1200:

> The Order of Carmelites was erected in Syria near Mount Carmel during this very time by Albert, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and was exalted by many privileges. At the beginning, he presented a rule, drawn up in his own right, to the same for their observance in which he confirmed that he appointed as the habit for the brothers of the same Order an upper circular cape made from Syrian fabric with certain large stripes, namely of white and grey, in the style of Elijah the prophet (so the tradition alleges) and he established that it [the cloak] was to be worn.[6]

St Antoninus uses almost the same description of the upper cloak prescribed by Albert.[7] I do not wonder why the erection of the Carmelite Order is attributed to Albert,[8] on account of the obscurity of their beginnings that preceded them and because the Order should not yet be assessed as having been fully[9] constituted, for which there was not yet a certain Rule of its own or a particular habit. But, that in the same Rule, in which no mention at all is made of that thing, a prescribed habit is affirmed, that [is something that] certainly requires correction. If that thing had been prescribed by Albert (as is certainly most likely), it was

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[5] [121] *Philippus Bergomensis in supplemento Chronicarum ita loquitur ad annum MCC. Ordo Carmelitarum per hoc ipsum tempus in Syria apud Carmelum montem, ab Alberto Hierosolymitano Patriarcha excitatur, & multis privilegiis sublimatur: qui eidem Regulam suo jure confectam conservandam primo obtulit, & confirmavit; in qua pro habitu Fratribus ejusdem Ordinis cappam ex Syrico, cum quibusdam largis virgis, scilicet albis & griseis, circulatam (more Eliæ Prophetæ, ut tradunt) assignavit, & deferendam constituit. Eadem fere descriptione cappæ ab Alberto præscriptæ utitur S. Antoninus. Vbi non miror Ordinis Carmelitici erectionem Alberto tribui, propter obscuritatem eorum quæ præcessere initiorum: & quia necdum pleni [sic. plene?] constitutus censeri debet Ordo, cui sua necdum certa Regula aut habitus est particularis. Ast quod in ipsa Regula dicatur præscriptus habitus, in qua nulla omnino illius fit mentio, id sane indiget correctione. Si ille præscriptus fuit ab Alberto (ut sane est verosimillimum) præscriptus est post Regulam datam; cum sub ea feliciter proficientes, seque Patriarchæ probantes quam maxime, novis favoribus & privilegiis digni sunt habiti: de quibus quia nihil in particulari legimus, nihil etiam præsumimus dicere: audeo tamen inter ea numerare insignem novi habitus prærogativam, qua non tantum a vulgo eremitarum distinguerentur Carmelitæ, sed supra omnes extollerentur.*

[6] See Giacomo Filippo Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum. Cui insuper addita est accessio complectens quae ab anno 1500 ad annum 1535 tum hic tum alibi gesta sunt* (Paris: Apud Simonem Colineum, 1535), 294 (1200 AD).

[7] See St Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars* (Lyons: Ex officina Iuntarum, et Pauli Guittii, 1586), 221.

[8] In the context, the attribution that Papenbroeck has in mind is that made by Giacomo Filippo Foresti.

[9] The word *pleni* is here read as a misprint of *plene*.

prescribed after the Rule was given, since they were happily increasing under it, and were themselves as much approved of the Patriarch as possible, they were deemed worthy by new favours and privileges. Because we read nothing in particular concerning which things, we presume also to say nothing. I dare, nevertheless, to number among them the notable prerogative of a new habit, by which the Carmelites were not only distinguished from the multitude of hermits but were being raised up above all.

122.[10] Before I set about explaining that thing with words, I bring forward the form needing to be seen with the eyes themselves, which also today is seen in Salamanca, in the retablo of the primary altar within the old Cathedral, which began to be constructed about the year 1000, and was decorated with paintings by Bishop Sancho de Castilla about the year 1430.[11] The outstanding Theologian, Fr Gabriel de Henao of our Society, taught us that, acting for whom,[12] the most famous man, Antonio de Mora y Varona,[13] took care that, when an example of the image representing the mystery of the Lord's Transfiguration needed to be captured with colours, from which [example] you see this figure of Elijah was taken, for which reason the Carmelites in Europe were boasting that those more ancient than they themselves were in a habit that was worn in the manner of this

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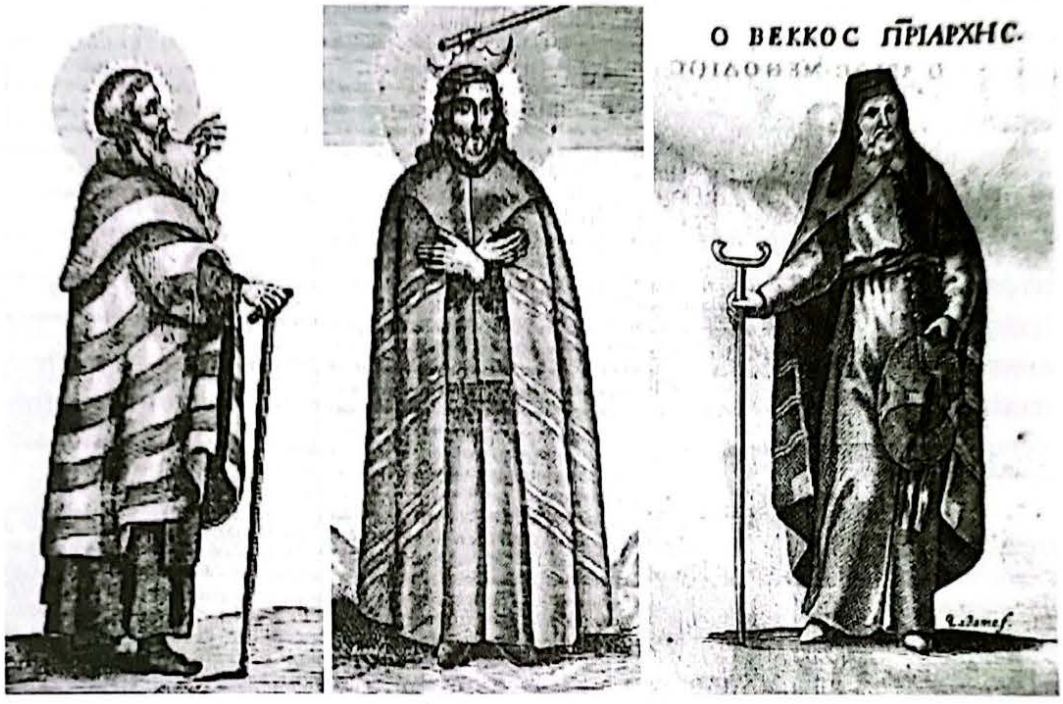
[10] [122] *Id prius quam aggredior explicare verbis, subjicio ipsis oculis spectandam formam, qualis etiam hodie spectatur Salmanticæ, in tabula altaris primarii, intra veterem Cathedralem; quam circa annum MC construi cœptam, & a Sanctio de Castella Episcopo circa annum MCCCCXXX picturis exornatam fuisse, docuit nos P. Gabriel de Henao, Societatis nostræ Theologus præstantißimus; quo agente vir clarißimus Antonius de Mora y Varona, curavit coloribus excipiendum exemplar imaginis, Dominicæ Transfigurationis mysterium repræsentantis, unde sumptam vides hanc figuram Eliæ, eo in habitu, quem ipsius more gestari a se antiquiores in Europa Carmelitæ jactabant, ut Bergomensis & Antoninus narrant. Iungitur Elianæ imagini imago B. Iosephati, Archiepiscopi Polocensis ex Ordine S. Basilii, & egregii hoc seculo in Rußia Martyris, juxta exemplar Romanum, quale spectatur ante epitomen vitæ & miraculorum excusam Romæ anno MDCXLIII; idque ad confirmationem & explicationem eorum, quæ de sacrarum barrarum dignitate præfanda hic sunt, ut intelligi poßit quam eæ honorificæ Carmelitis fuerint, & quanto in pretio habendæ.*

[11] Both Elijah and Elisha are shown dressed in brown and wearing white cloaks in Jaume Huguet's Ascension of Elijah (c. 1470) in the cathedral of Tortosa, Spain. In 1627, there were representations of Elijah dressed as a Carmelite with a white (rather than striped) cape in the parochial church of the town of Castellón de la Plana, Spain, in the cathedral of Santa María de Toledo, Spain, and in the parochial church in Paradinas de San Juan, near Salamanca, see Manuel Román O.Carm., *Elucidationes varias de la Antiguedad, dignidad y escritores de la sagrada Orden del Carmen, colegidas de autores graves* (Madrid: Juan Gonçalez, 1627), 159.

[12] This refers to Bishop Sancho López de Castella, for whom Antonio de Mora y Varona acted.

[13] Despite his alleged fame, the author has not been able to discover anything further about this individual.

one, as the one from Bergamo[14] and Antoninus narrate.[15] Connected to the Elijan image is the image of Josephat, Archbishop of Polotsk from the Ruthenian Uniate Order of St Basil, and a distinguished martyr from that century in Russia, according to the Roman example, which is seen before the abridgment of the life and miracles printed at Rome in the year 1643.[16] And it is for their confirmation and explication, that these things concerning the dignity of the sacred bars were needing to be said beforehand here so that it might be understood that they had been things that do honour to the Carmelites, and how much they were held to be of value.



On the left, Papenbroeck's representation of the prophet Elijah in a striped cloak (but shown facing right, rather than, as in the original, facing left) and, in the centre, Papenbroeck's representation of Bl. Josephat Kunsevyich OSBM of Polotsk (c. 1580-1623) wearing the diagonally striped cloak of the habit of the Ruthenian Uniate Order of St Basil. On the right, the image from Goar referred to by Papenbroeck in n. 123.

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[14] This refers to Giacomo Filippo Foresti.

[15] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221; Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum. Cui insuper addita est accessio complectens quae ab anno 1500 ad annum 1535 tum hic tum alibi gesta sunt*, 294 (1200 AD).

[16] See *Compendium vitae, virtutum et miraculorum nec non actorum in causa canonizationis Beati Josaphati Kuncevicii archieposcopi Polocesis et Rhutencis martyris ex ordine sancti Basili Magni* (Rome: n. p., 1643). See also Jakob Jan Susza, *Cursus vitæ et certamen martyrii B. Josaphat Kuncevicii, archiep. Polocensis...* (Rome: Ex Typographia Varesii, 1665).

123.[17] Observe, therefore, beyond the vestments, different on account of whose position it was, of which there is a use only in the divine liturgy, one for all, there is the upper vestment, daily and equally common to Pontiffs and to the monks of the Greeks, which those of a former time call by the Latin name[18] πάλλιον, the medieval writers, however, by the proper name μάνδυον, μανδύην or μανδύαν; with this difference, that, just as Isaac Habert notes for the Pontifical book of the Greek church, page 17,[19] in the margin, that vestment 'should, indeed, for the ordained monks, be simple, undulated, however, for the Pontiffs'. In what manner you see here in the cloak of Josephat, and it is permitted to see it in the cloak of the Patriarch of Constantinople, in the notes for the *Euchologium* of Jacques Goar, page 115.[20] Those double waves, however (which, in their own language, the Teutonics called *'baras'*, the Greeks ποταμοὺς, that is they named them rivers), are of a white colour and, when the same Pontifical μάνδυον is violet, as it is almost accustomed to be, they form a triple row, in such a way that, at the same time, all six[21] over the cloak should be of a violet or purple colour. 'They

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[17] [123] *Observa igitur, præter vestes, pro cujusque gradu diversas; quarum in divina dumtaxat liturgia est usus, unam omnibus, Pontificibus æque ac Monachis Græcorum communem ac quotidianam esse vestem superiorem, quam Latino nomine πάλλιον veteres, medii autem ævi scriptores proprio nomine* μάνδυον, μανδύην *seu* μανδύαν *appellant: cum hac differentia, quod, sicut notat Isaacus Habertus ad Pontificalem librum ecclesiæ Græcæ pag. 17 in margine, vestis illa Hieromonachis quidem simplex, Pontificibus vero undulata sit: quomodo hic vides in pallio Iosaphati; & videre licet in Pallio Patriarchæ Constantinopoli apud Iacobum Goar in notis ad Euchologium pag. 115. Vndæ autem illæ geminatæ (quas Teutones lingua sua baras appellarent, Græci* ποταμοὺς *id est fluvios nominant) coloris sunt albi, quando ipsum Pontificale* μάνδυον *violaceum est ut fere solet, & triplici ducuntur ordine, ita ut simul omnes sex sint supra pallium violacei seu purpurei coloris. Vocantur autem flumina, inquit Symeon Thessalonicensis, Græcorum rituum interpres accuratißimus, propter vocem Salvatoris in Euangelio dicentis, Qui credit in me flumina de ventre ejus fluent aquæ vivæ. Excellentia porro, hisce fluminibus denotata, medio ævo tam nota fuit etiam in Europa nostra; ut cum Desiderius Casinnesis Abbas, creatus anno MLXXXVI Romanus Pontifex & Victor III nuncupatus, ecclesiam S. Angeli ad formas in civitate Capuana euangelicis historiis exornandam locasset, expressurus pictor Pharisæum, ad cujus mensam accumbens Christus peccatrici mulieri pedes lacrymis rigandos præbuit, pallium ejus, tamquam alicujus Archisynagogi, gemina ad cubitos circumcurrente vitta ornaverit; ut ibi etiamnunc videre est, & expressum habemus in Ioannis Iacobi Chiffletii eruditißimo tractatu de Cœna Dominica, quem cum aliis nonnullis lucubrationibus suis adhuc ineditum nobis ante mortem donatum voluit, monumentum suæ erga nos benevolentiæ.*

[18] Papenbroeck was thinking, presumably, of the Latin word *pallium*, which is the equivalent of the word actually given here, *pallion*.

[19] See Isaac Habert, *Archieratikon: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae* (Paris: Sumptibus Patri Blasii, 1643), 17.

[20] See Jacques Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum: complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum* (Paris: Apud Simeonem Piget, 1647), 115.

[21] This refers, presumably, to the three diagonal stripes on either side of the opening of the cloak, seen from the front, as in the image of Bl. Josephat above.

are called rivers, however', says Symeon of Thessalonica,[22] a most accurate interpreter of Greek rites, 'on account of the voice of the Saviour saying in the Gospel, "Who believes in me rivers of living water will have flowed from his belly."'[23] Moreover, having been noted then in the Middle Ages, the excellence denoted by these rivers had also been noted in our Europe so that, when Abbot Desiderius of Monte Casino, created Roman Pontiff in the year 1086, and named Victor III, had arranged that the church of St Angelo *in formis* in the city of Capua needing to be adorned with evangelical histories, the artist about to be representing the Pharisee at whose table Christ was lying down, showed the feet being moistened with tears by the sinful woman, in comparison to those reclining at table, adorned his[24] cloak with a double band running around, just as that of the priest who was chief ruler of the synagogue, so that in that place it is also now to be seen and we have it represented in the most erudite tract concerning the Lord's Supper of Jean-Jacques Chifflet, which, together with some other as yet unedited[25] nocturnal studies of his, he wanted donated to us before death, a memorial of his good-will towards us.

Detail of the fresco (c. 1087) in the church of Sant' Angelo *in formis* in the city of Capua, showing the Pharisee whose cloak has a double band.[26]

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[22] See Symeon of Thessalonica, *Expositio de divino Templo*, 37, in Jacques-Paul Migne, ed. *Patrologia graeca*, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866), 155:711.

[23] See John 7:38.

[24] This refers to the Pharisee.

[25] The implication is that the manuscript of this never published work was in Papenbroeck's possession.

[26] Image by Raffaele Ferrigno, used with permission.

124.[27] Observe secondly, from Balsamon on the seventh Canon of the Council of Constantinople under Photius,[28] that it had been the law for Patriarchs needing to exempt certain monasteries from the ordinary jurisdiction of the ordinary Bishop,[29] and needing to be immediately subject to themselves, which, thereafter, were called ἐλεύθεραι μοναὶ, free monasteries, and those equally, which, having been constituted under the patronage of the Roman Pontiffs among us, acknowledge no other Superior, that it would be done with these ceremonies, see concerning Σταυροπηγίῳ or by affixing a Cross in Isaac Habert, page 644.[30] These things having been observed, say, Albert, having made use of his Patriarchal right, since, prepared by his Rule, he could have absolved the Carmelites from the power of the Bishop of Acre (of all the Patriarchal privileges, that was the first and particular one), not only would that thing have carried through the habitual custom for the Greeks or Latins, but he could have wanted the evidence of this exemption and privilege to stand forth in their very habit and, for that reason he could have ordained that, since the other monks and hermits subject to the Bishops were wearing

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[27] [124] *Observa secundo, ex Balsamone ad Canonem VII Concilii CP. sub Photio, jus fuisse Patriarchis eximendi monasteria quædam a jurisdictione ordinaria Episcopi, sibique immediate subjiciendi, quæ exinde* ἐλεύθεραι μοναὶ, libera monasteria *appellabantur; æque ac ea, quæ sub Romani Pontificis patrocinio constituta apud nos, alium nullum Superiorem agnoscunt: quod quibus ceremoniis fieret, vide sis apud Isaacum Habertum pag. 644. de* Σταυροπηγίῳ *seu Crucis-fixione. His observatis, dice, Albertum jure suo Patriarchali usum, cum Regula sua instructos Carmelitas absolveret a potestate Episcopi Acconensis (quod privilegiorum omnium Patriarchalium primum ac præcipuum erat) non tantum id peregisse more Græcis Latinisve consueto; sed hujus exemptionis ac privilegii indicium in ipso eorum habitu extare voluisse, ideoque ordinasse, ut cum ceteri monachi & eremitæ subjecti Episcopis nigras aut griseas unius coloris cappas gestarent, easdem Carmelitæ, velut Episcopis nihil debentes, æque ac ipsi distinguerent vittis seu circulis albis; non tamen adsutis sed intextis, & æquali spatio totam vestem a summo ad imum percurrentibus, ea qua Salmanticæ exprimitur forma. Quam formam eamdem ipsam fuisse quæ in Episcoporum vestibus per Syriam servabatur, licet nullo positivo testimonio probetur, libenter tamen indulgebo: neque enim necesse est credere, nullam omnino fuisse differentiam inter ritus & vestes Patriarchatus Constantinopolitani & Hierosolymitani; quando ea tam notabilis est inter pallium a Goare expressum & hic in B. Iosaphato propositum, quantam ipsis oculis videre est; cum tamen Constantinopolitano Patriarchæ Rußia subjecta maneat.*

[28] The Council that deposed Photius is known in the Roman Catholic tradition as the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (869-70). The Eastern Orthodox tradition regards this same Council as the Fourth Ecumenical council of Constantinople (879-880).

[29] See Gentianus Hervet, ed. *Canones SS Apostolorum Conciliorum Generalium & Provincialium: Sanctorum Patrum Epistolae Canonicae quibus praefixus est, Photii Constantinopolitani Patriarchae, Nonocanon... omnia commentariis amplissimis Theodori Balsamonis...* (Paris: Typis Regiis, 1620), 538.

[30] See Habert, *Archieratikon: Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Graecae*, 644-648.

black or grey[31] capes of a single colour, the same Carmelites, just as owing nothing to the Bishops, and, in like manner, the same ones could have been distinguished by the bands or white circular figures, not stitched on, nevertheless, but woven in, and running with an even space along the whole vestment from top to bottom, that form that is represented at Salamanca. Which very same form was that which used to be preserved on the vestments of the Bishops throughout Syria, I will, nevertheless, freely grant, even if it is proved by no positive testimony. For it is not necessary to believe that there was no difference at all between the rites and vestments of the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Patriarchate of Jerusalem, when there is that so notable difference between the cloak represented by Goar and that proposed here in the case of Bl. Josephat.[32] See how great it is with the eyes themselves when, nevertheless, the Constantinopolitan Patriarch remained subject to Russia.

125.[33] Certainly, the 'Cloak' or '*Mandium*' among the Constantinopolitans and the Ruthenians is also most different in form from those

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[31] Some wore white or off-white capes also. On August 27th 1210, Pope Innocent III letters to Patriarch Albert of Jerusalem and to the master and brothers of the Teutonic Order's hospital at Acre prohibiting the Teutonic Order from wearing the distinctive white cloak of the Templars and noted Albert's role in investigating the matter and in implementing this judgment. On July 28th 1211, Pope Innocent's letter to the Teutonic Order confirmed Albert's statute requiring them to wear cloaks made from 'Stamford' material, which was of an off-white or cream colour. See Indrikis Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States," in *The Impact of the Crusades in the Near East*, ed. Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 315-378: 323; Potthast, *Regesta*, 1:351 nn. 4068-4069.

[32] The two images are presented, in the centre and on the right, before n. 123.

[33] [125] *Certe Pallium sive Mandium apud Constantinopolitanos & Ruthenos, ipsa etiam forma diversißimum est ab iis, quibus Patriarchæ, Episcopi, monachique tam Græci quam Armeni in Syria & Palæstina utuntur ad huc hodie, &, nisi quod color omnibus totus est niger, omnino talis qualem Salmanticensis pictura Eliæ vestem superiorem describit, scilicet cum brevibus manicis instar penulæ seu capottæ, & larga acuminataque ante ac retro paramandya exiguoque capucio: quemadmodum visa hac nostra tabula, proprio chirographo mihi testatus est adm. R. D. Franciscus Balduinus Breyell, dignißimus Presbyter, Iuris utriusque Licentiatus, Protonotarius Apostolicus & Eques Hierosolymitanus, anno ab Incarnatione Domini MDCLXVIII per totam Syriam, Palæstinam, Armeniam, Ægyptum & adjacentia regna peregrinatus; idque sæpe in comitatu Episcoporum monachorumque istiusmodi Græcorum Armenorumque, ut facile ac certo notare potuerit modum ac formam vestitus apud illos usitati. Quare nihil est cur hujus tamdiu ignorati & nunc primum in lucem reducti habitus insolentia offendat Carmelitas. Nam si circulorum præfatorum distinctio magnam in Palæstina habebat dignitatem, ista forma pallii, ad unguem similis pallio Basilianorum ibidem monachorum, nonnihil fortasse faciet ad manutenendam eam quam prætendunt originis antiquitatem: etsi putem Albertum non aliud ea forma voluisse significatum, quam quod hic novus Ordo eremitarum, licet totus esset Latinorum, suam tamen originem & institutionem accepisset in Syria. Credunt illi eodem facere aliquid primarum cellarum*

which the Patriarchs, Bishops and monks, both Greek and Armenian, use up to today in Syria and Palestine and, unless that the total colour for all is black, it is altogether such as that upper vestment the Salamanca painting of Elijah describes,[34] like a mantle or cowl with short sleeves, you may be sure, and a large and pointed *paramandya*[35] in front and behind and a small capuche. From this our picture, the manner in which they were perceived was testified to me having been executed by his own hand by the Rev. Dr Franciscus Balduinus Breyell, the most worthy Presbyter, Licenced with both laws,[36] the Protonotary apostolic and Knight of Jerusalem, having made a pilgrimage in the 1668th year from the Incarnation of the Lord, throughout the whole of Syria, Palestine, Armenia, Egypt and the adjoining kingdoms, and he is often in the retinue of the Bishops and monks in the manner of the Greeks and Armenians, so that he will have been able easily and certainly to note the customary manner and form of vestments among those ones. There is no reason why the strangeness of this habit, unknown for so long and now brought back into the light for the first time, should offend the Carmelites. For, if the dignity of the circular figures mentioned before held a great distinction in Palestine, that form of cloak, to a nicety similar to the cloak of the Basilian monks in the same place, would accomplish something, perhaps, for maintaining that antiquity of origin which they allege. Although, by that form, I would estimate that Albert wanted the sign to be not other than that this new Order of hermits received its origin and institution in Syria, even if the whole might be of the Latins. From the same thing, those ones believe that the separation of the first cells according to the manner of the Palestinian lauras that they encountered in Syria, which Berthold

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distinctionem, ad modum Palæstiniarum laurarum; quam Bertholdus ejusque socii æque in Europa didicisse potuerunt a Carthusianis & Camaldulensibus, quam in Syria invenisse; multo igitur magis sibi debebunt gratulari de hac figura pallii, soli propria Orienti, per quam sit ut tandem unum aliquod orientalis monachismi vestigium ostendi in Ordine ipso petentibus, poßint quadamtenus respondere; esto quod scriptores, qui de habitus mutatione post explicanda scripsere, loquantur solum de colore vario in album converso. Si qui igitur ante Bertholdum fuerunt Carmelitæ, eodem quo Bertholdus & posteri ejus usi sunt habitu; sed non similiter variegato: alias enim antiquiori nomine Græcis Syrisve usurpato illum perrexissent appellare; nunc autem intelliguntur novum ei ex Italica lingua nomen fecisse, sicuti nova erat ipsa variegatio, Europæis eremitis tunc primam indulta, citra aliorum monachorum eremitarumve exemplum.

[34] See the image, on the left, before n. 123.

[35] The *paramandya* (*paraman* in Slavonic) was a rectangular piece of cloth, often embroidered with the instruments used by the soldiers in crucifying Christ, that represents the yoke of Christ and that is worn on the back. Nowadays tied with ribbons to a wooden cross worn over the heart, it is sometimes also called the *Staurophore*, or *Cross-bearer*.

[36] Civil and canon law, in other words.

and his associates could equally have become acquainted with from the Carthusians and Camaldoli, amounts to something. In the future, they should congratulate themselves much more concerning that figure of the cloak, proper only to the East, by means of which, as it is, in the end, the one and only vestige of eastern monasticism in the same Order being exhibited to those requesting it, they can, to a certain point, respond. May it be that the writers who write afterwards concerning the changing of the habit needing to be explained speak only concerning the varied colour having been converted into white. Since, therefore, those who had been Carmelites before Berthold made use of the same habit that Berthold and those after him made use of, but not similarly variegated, for otherwise, having made use of the older name of the Greeks or Syrians, they would have continued to apply that name; now, however, just as the variegation was itself new, they are understood to have made a new name for it from the Italian language,[37] at that time the first indulgence for the European hermits, confronted with the example of the other monks or hermits.

126.[38] They gave it the name *'carpita'*, you may be sure, which name, as I have said, is Italian, in a most particular way signifying that very variegation in which it is woven into the cloth. I have witnesses to this assertion, the authors of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca,* having collected only from the writers of the 14th century, which is considered the golden century of the Tuscan language, and having

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[37] The new name was *carpita*, see n. 126.

[38] [126] *Carpitam scilicet appellaverunt, quod nomen, ut dixi, Italicum est, ipsam illam variegationem propriißime significans, in eo cui intexitur panno. Hujus assertionis testes habeo auctores Academici Vocabularii della Crusca, collecti ex solis scriptoribus seculi XIV, quod Tuscanæ linguæ aureum seculum æstimatur, & Venetiis impreßi anno 1623. Producunt hi Franciscum Berni, in suis Rythmis burleschis sive satyricis, ita jocantem: Mi vien veduta, attraverso a un desco, una carpita di lana di porco, id est, Video, transversim in disco positam, carpitam ex lana porcina contextam; videlicet setaceam. Indicant autem iidem Academici, carpitam esse quæ alio nomine dicitur celone, id est, ut explicant ipsi, pannus virgulatus quo mensa insternitur: quo etiam in sensu Belgis & Anglis dicitur Carpet, in etymologico Teutonico Kiliani & Anglicano Schenneri: & utrobique latine redditur gausape, tapetium. Schennerus idem, Belgas ac Anglos vocem hanc censet mutuatam ab Italis, quod sane probo; sed non possum probare divinationem ejus, qua carpettam (sic enim scribit ipse) ab Italis dictam suspicatur, quasi Cairinum tapetium, ab urbe Cairo sive Memphi Ægyptia. Nescivit forsitan verbum Carpire (unde carpita participiale deducitur, sicut ferita a ferire) esse verbum Italicum, & in Lombardia, ac nominatim Vercellis unde Albertus advenerat, idem esse quod Latinis discriminare, distinguere, uti me per humanißimam suam epistolam docuit Perillustris ac Reverendiss. Marcus Aurelius Cusanus, Canonicus Vercellensis ac Provicarius Generalis. Adeo ut vesti, panno, aut stragulo, ad mensæ vel lecti integumentum virgulatim colorato, quale fuisse Carpitam Carmeliticam in confesso est, aptius nullum nomen poßis excogitare: quare etiam eo nomine usus est Ordo, quamdiu usus est ipsis carpitis.*

and his associates could equally have become acquainted with from the Carthusians and Camaldoli, amounts to something. In the future, they should congratulate themselves much more concerning that figure of the cloak, proper only to the East, by means of which, as it is, in the end, the one and only vestige of eastern monasticism in the same Order being exhibited to those requesting it, they can, to a certain point, respond. May it be that the writers who write afterwards concerning the changing of the habit needing to be explained speak only concerning the varied colour having been converted into white. Since, therefore, those who had been Carmelites before Berthold made use of the same habit that Berthold and those after him made use of, but not similarly variegated, for otherwise, having made use of the older name of the Greeks or Syrians, they would have continued to apply that name; now, however, just as the variegation was itself new, they are understood to have made a new name for it from the Italian language,[37] at that time the first indulgence for the European hermits, confronted with the example of the other monks or hermits.

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been printed in Venice in the year 1623.[39] They bring forward Francesco Berni, jesting in this way in his *Rhymes Burlesque or Satirical: Mi vien veduta, attraverso a un desco, una carpita di lana di porco*,[40] that is, 'I see, placed crosswise on a dish, a *carpita* woven from the wool of a pig', obviously, 'bristle-like'. The same *Academici* indicate, however, that '*carpita*' is that called '*celone*' by another name, that is, as the very ones explain, 'a striped garment with which a table is covered'; in which sense, also, 'Carpet' is said by the Belgians and English, and, in the Teutonic etymological dictionary of Kiliaan[41] and in the English etymological dictionary of Skinner,[42] by both it is rendered in Latin '*gausape, tapetium*'. The same Skinner estimates that it was the Belgians or English, having borrowed this word from the Italians, which I certainly approve of, but I cannot approve his divination, by which he suspects '*carpettam*' (for he himself writes this), said to be from the Italians, as if 'a Cairo carpet', from the city, Cairo, or Memphis in Egypt. He did not know, perhaps, that the verb '*Carpire*'[43] (from which '*carpita*' is principally derived, just as '*ferita*' from '*ferire*')[44] is an Italian verb, and in Lombardy, and specifically in Vercelli, from which Albert, will have come, it is the same, for the Latins, as that '*discriminare*'[45], '*distinguere*',[46] as the greatly distinguished and Most Reverend Marco Aurelio Cusano, the Canon of Vercelli, and Provicar General, taught me by means of his most obliging letter.[47] So

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[39] See Accademia della Crusca, ed. *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca in questa seconda impressione da' medesimi riueduto, e ampliato, con aggiunta di molte voci degli autori del buon secolo, e buona quantità di quelle dell' vso. Con tre indici delle voci, locuzioni, e prouerbi latini, e greci, posti per entro l' opera. Con priuilegio del sommo pontefice, del re cattolico, della serenissima Repubblica di Venezia, e degli altri principi, e potentati d' Italia, e fuor d' Italia, della maestà cesarea, del re cristianissimo, e del serenissimo arciduca Alberto.* (Venice: appresso Iacopo Sarzina, 1623), carpita.

[40] See Francesco Berni, *Opere Burleschi: con annotazioni* (Milan: Dalla Scuola Tipografica de' Classici Italiani, 1806), 8.

[41] See Cornelis van Kiel/Kiliaan, a.k.a. Kilian van Kiel, Cornelis, *Etymologicum Teutonice Linguae VI, Sive Dictionarium Teotonico-Latinum* (Antwerp: Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1599), carpita.

[42] See Stephen Skinner, *Etymologicum Linguae Anglicanae, seu Explicatio vocum Anglicarum etymologica ex propriis fontibus, scil. ex linguis duodecim*, four parts in 1 volume vols. (London: Typis T. Roycroft, et prostant venales apud H. Brome, 1671), carpita.

[43] In the Lombardy dialect, the Italian verb *carpire* means to distinguish, differentiate.

[44] The word *carpita* (something distinguished) is derived from the verb *carpire* (to distinguish), just as the word *ferita* (something injured) is derived from the verb *ferire* (to injure).

[45] The Latin verb *discriminare* means to distinguish, differentiate.

[46] The Italian verb *distinguere* means to distinguish, differentiate.

[47] In his account of Albert's life, Cusano refers to the Carmelites having 'various forms of habits (*varie forme d'Habiti*)' when they lived dispersed in the vicinity of Mount

much as to the vestment, the garment, or the spread for the covering of the table or bed having been coloured with stripes, in what was acknowledged, such had been the Carmelite *carpita*, no more apt name could you devise. For which reason, the Order, also used the same name for as long as it used the same '*carpitas*'.

127.[48] This is clear from the decree of the General Chapter of London in England, celebrated in the year 1281,[49] which is such:

> A professed brother should have one *carpita* (which is the sign of our Religion), not stitched together from pieces but woven [as a single piece]. And it should have only seven spokes so that we are uniform.[50]

Carmel before 'desiring to be all conformed under a uniform Observance, a regulated Direction and a Habit (*desiderosi pur di conformarsi tutti sotto uniforme Osservanza, regolata Direttione, & Habito*)' and asking Albert 'that beyond the shared similarity of the external Habit (*che oltre la consimiglianza dell'Habito esterno*)', he provided them also with a common Rule. See Marcus Aurelius Cusanus, *Discorsi historiali concernenti la vita e le attioni de' vescovi di Vercelli* (Vercelli: Nicola Giacinto Marta, 1676), 188 nn. 19-20.

[48] [127] *Patet hoc ex decreto Londiniensis Capituli Generalis in Anglia, anno MCCLXXXI celebrati, quod tale est: Frater professus habeat unam carpitam (quod est nostræ Religionis signum) non de petiis consutam, sed contextam: & habeat septem radios tantum, ut simus uniformes. Libenter id de solis albis radiis intellexero, quam multos in pictura Salmanticensi numero, præter intercurrentes griseos. Nam ut ex utrisque habeatur cappa justæ ad genua longitudinis, danda erat singulis radiis latitudo quatuor fere digitorum aut palmi unius, quæ sane est insignis latitudo vigarum, a Bergomensi & Antonino superius designata. Si tamen omnino contendat aliquis radios, albos ac griseos simul, septenos tantum esse debuisse, & latitudinem eorum proportionate augeat, non repugnabo; tantumque hinc inferam, vel ipsam Salmanticensem picturam vel ejus prototypon designatum fuisse ante celebrationem Capituli prænotati, quando radiorum numerus necdum erat in Ordine definitus, sed erat qualem dabat ipsa materia, magis minusve latis distincta virgis. Quæ materia quia non contexebatur in Ordine, neque ex Syria semper suppetebat; ideo fortaßis sumebant aliqui libertatem, ipsos radios albos griseo panno assuendi ex petiis, quod dicto Capituli decreto prohibetur. Cur autem placuit numerus septenarius? Id ut scias, quære quid ipsum* μάνδυον *seu pallium monachale denotaverit Græcis. Docebit id te jam ante laudatus Symeon Thessalonicensis, apud Goarem pag. 495 explicans ritus, quorum usus erat in suscipienda monachi per triennium probati profeßione, sic enim loquitur. Ultimo, tamquam omnia continente, Mandya circumdatur, in quo clarius dicit Sacerdos, Frater noster N. accipit pallium magni & Angelici habitus, incorruptionis & honestatis indumentum. In nomine Patris & Filii & Spiritus sancti. Dicamus pro eo, Domine miserere. Perfectum namque indumentum est, & reliqua constringens, & servatricem in universum ac protectricem Dei virtutem manifestat atque significat. Hoc porro non potest ulterius explicari aptius, quam septenario numero, perfectionem ac plenitudinem Spiritus septemplicis, virtutes omnes complexi, repræsentante.*

[49] Although the document of the Constitutions is dated 1281, the Chapter that approved them took place in 1282.

[50] I have not been able to identify Papenbroeck's source for this text, which differs slightly from that of Bale, who has '*carpetam ... cosutam*', and Saggi notes that neither text matches what is found in the extant manuscripts of the Constitutions issued by the 1282

I will have willingly understood that thing as concerning only the white spokes, which, running beside the grey, are by number many in the Salamanca painting. For as it is from both that a cape of the right length, to the knees, is made, giving a width of almost four digits or one palm to the individual spokes, which width of the rods is certainly the distinguishing mark designated by the one from Bergamo[51] and Antoninus further up.[52] If, nevertheless, some would altogether maintain that the rays, white and grey together, should have been only seven in number, and would extend their width proportionately, I will not oppose it; and from here I will only bring forward, either the same Salamanca painting or its prototype that had been designated before the celebration of the already noted Chapter, when the number of spokes was not yet determined in the Order, but it was such that the same material, by different rods more or less wide, was presenting.[53] Which material, because it was not being woven in the order, nor always available from Syria, for that reason, perhaps, some were taking the liberty of sewing on the same white/grey cloth rods from pieces, something prohibited by the decree of the said Chapter. Why, however, was the number of seven pleasing? In order that you may know that, ask what the same μάνδυον or 'cloak' of the monks will have denoted for the Greeks. Explaining the rites used in receiving the profession of a monk having been approved for three years, the already praised Symeon of Thessalonica will teach you that in Goar, page 495, for he speaks thus:

> Finally, as if by holding everything together, he is encompassed with the *mandya*,[54] in which more clearly the Priest says: 'Our Bro-

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Chapter, see Saggi O.Carm., "Constitutiones (1281)," 203-205, 224; O.Carm., "Carmelite Constitutions", Munich: Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Clm 19114, 199r-216v, 1281. Modern critical editions of the Constitutions of the 1282 Chapter follow the extant manuscripts rather than the version given by Bale and Papenbroeck: 'The professed, indeed, should have only one cloak, which is the sign of our Order (*Professus vero habeat tantum unam cappam, que est nostre religionis signum*)', see Edison R. L. Tinambunan O.Carm. and Emanuele Boaga O.Carm., eds., *Corpus constitutionum ordinis fratrum Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo*, 4 vols. (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 2011-12), 1:68 (n. 22).

[51] This refers to Giacomo Filippo Foresti.

[52] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221; Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum. Cui insuper addita est accessio complectens quae ab anno 1500 ad annum 1535 tum hic tum alibi gesta sunt*, 294 (1200 AD).

[53] In other words, the rods were not made from different materials but were part of, and woven into, the same material.

[54] Nowadays, the *mandya* is either a short, black cloak worn by Eastern Orthodox monks or a long, full, purple or blue cloak, fastened at the neck and hem but open down the front, worn by Eastern Orthodox Bishops during processions. The long *mandya* has red and white stripes called *potamoi* (Greek for rivers) flowing out from the point where it is fastened at neck and hem.

> ther N. accepts the great cloak and the Angelic habit, the garment of incorruption and character. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Let us say for him, 'Lord, have mercy.' And, for it is the finishing garment, and binding the rest together, and manifests and signifies she who preserves in all things and the protectress of the virtues of God.[55]

This, moreover, cannot be further explained more aptly than by the number consisting of seven, by representing the perfection and fullness of the sevenfold Spirit, of having embraced all the virtues.

128.[56] Because, indeed, the same spokes were known to almost all beyond[57] the Alps as 'bars' or 'barrs', hence it was done that, then, those '*carpitas*' were called 'bared' or 'barred cloaks', and they themselves were named 'Bared' or 'Barred Brothers'. First, the Carmelite writers themselves acknowledged it; second, by the witness of D'Outreman,[58] one gate of the city of Valenciennes in Belgium proves it, having been called by the

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[55] See Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum: complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum*, 495.

[56] [128] *Quia vero ipsi radii omnibus fere Transimontanis baræ aut barræ nuucupabantur; hinc factum, ut tum carpitæ illæ vocarentur cappæ baratæ seu barratæ, & ipsi Fratres Barati seu Barrati cognominarentur. Primum, agnoscunt ipsi scriptores Carmelitici; secundum probat porta una urbis Valencensis in Belgio, teste Doutremanno, Barratorum porta, la porte des Barrez, nuncupata usque in hodiernum diem, per quam exibatur [sic. exibebatur?] ad conventum seu potius eremitorium Carmelitarum, cujus haud procul inde quædam restant vestigia, priusquam in urbem Conventus transferretur. Eas ex Syrico factas fuisse habent quos initio capitis prænotavi. Verum hic tu cave ne Sericum intelligas pannum sive bombycinum. Syricus, a Syria deductum gentilitium, deficiente Latinitate dici cœpit, quod Ciceronis ævo Syriacus aut Syrus: unde Salvianus libro 4 de vero Iudicio & providentia Dei, Consideremus, inquit, solas negotiatorum & Syricorum omnium turbas, ubi mercatores intelliguntur in Syriam & ex Syria commeare aut merces inde advectas tractare soliti. Syricus ergo pannus, pannus est advectus ex Syria; quæ quia nunc Turcis est subjecta, paßim nunc Turcicus pannus dicitur, non laneus (nam tales inde nihil advehi opus, cum præstantiores iis habeantur in Europa) sed ex capellarum pilis contextus, a quibus & nomen habet ipse pannus ut Camellottus dicatur, corrupte, pro capellottus: sicut & ipsum stamen ex pilis caprinis ductum a Belgis paßim vocatur kemels-hayr corrupte pro kebers sive kepers-hayr; quæ nominis origo ratioque non omnibus nota, facit ut simpliciores & textrinæ rei ignari, putent Camelorum pilos, ad omne opus faciendum ineptissimos, hic intelligi. Capras autem in hanc rem aptißimas, quorum pilus mollißimus & mira venustate resplendens bombycum elegantiam quadamtenus æmulatur, nutrit Syria, earumque pilos per omnes Orientis & Occidentes regiones distrahit.*

[57] Writing in Antwerp, in Belgium, 'beyond the Alps' refers to the countries south of the Alps.

[58] See Henri D'Oultreman and Pierre D'Oultreman SJ, *Histoire de la ville et du comté de Valenciennes* (Douai: Marc Wyon, 1639), 458. Some date the foundation at Valenciennes as early as 1235 but this date is considered unlikely by many modern scholars, see Mullins O.Carm., *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spiritualilty*, 22.

name '*Barratorum porta*', *la porte des Barrez*,[59] down to the present day, by means of which the convent or, better, the hermitage of the Carmelites, some of whose traces remain not far from there, was being presented, before the Convent was transferred to the city.[60] At the beginning of the chapter,[61] I have already noted those who have these things that had been made from '*Sericus*'. But, here, beware, you, lest you understand '*Sericus*' to be cloth or silk. When Latinity was abandoned, it[62] began, in the age of Cicero, to be pronounced '*Syricus*', having been derived from 'Syria', belonging to the nation, '*Syriacus*' or '*Syrus*': from which Salvian in book four concerning the True Judgment and Providence of God,[63] says: 'We should examine the disturbances of the merchants and of all the Syrians only', where the merchants are understood to be in Syria and to be making the journey from Syria or having been accustomed to conduct the goods brought here from there. '*Syricus*', therefore 'cloth', the cloth that was brought here from Syria; which, because it is now subject to the Turks, is now generally called 'Turkish', not of wool (for there is no need to bring such from there, when more excellent ones are made by those in Europe) but having been woven from the hairs of she-goats, and from which the cloth itself has the name that is pronounced as 'Camel-hair cloth (*Camellottus*)', in a corrupted way, instead of 'Goat-hair cloth (*capellottus*)'. And just as the same foundation threads fashioned from goat's hairs are generally called by the Belgians 'camel-hair (*kemels-hayr*)' in a corrupted way instead of 'goat's (*kebers*)' or 'goat-hair (*kebers-hayr*)', the origin and understanding of the name not having been known to all, it brings it about that the more simple and those unacquainted with weaver's shops, deem 'the hairs' of the thing to be those 'of Camels', here to be understood as the most unsuitable for every work needing to be done. Syria rears goats, however, whose very soft hair rivals silken elegance to a certain point, shining with wonderful beauty, is the most sought after for this thing and it retails their hairs throughout all the regions of the East and the Western regions.

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[59] 'The gate of the Barred Ones', French.

[60] In place of *exibebatur*, the *exibatur* in the text would seem to be a typographical error.

[61] The term 'Sericus' is not found in the early part of this chapter and Papenbroeck was probably referring to the use of the term 'Syrian fabric (*Syrico*)' which is found in the indented quotation in n. 121.

[62] This refers, it seems, to the Latin word 'Sericus'.

[63] See Brassicanus, *Salvian of Marseilles: De vero Iudicio & providentia Dei ad S. Salonium episcopum Vienensem libri VIII*, 147.

129.[64] In other respects, whether from this the Carmelites already used the monastic *mandya* of the Basilian monks or the pure and simple cape from the beginning of their union under Berthold, whether, in fact, they will have first received the privilege of using it, together with its circular spokes, from Albert at the same time, I will not have asserted easily. For it is something unknown to me whether before Albert the same ones will have been bound by some vow, or, in truth, if they will have persevered in their proposed manner of life with a free mind under obedience to the Prior elected by them until someone coming with the fullness of Apostolic power approved the Order, and granted the right of religious Profession, something nobody is known to have done before Albert. That this one, in truth, did that is not so much demonstrated as presumed, because we have known that, on account of the Rule, indeed, whether it was approved sufficiently, was something needing to be fought for by the Carmelites; we have not known, however, whether it truly made them Religious, on account of their profession. If it were proved that Albert was the first [who] granted it,[65] it would have seemed to me to be a consequence that he would have held back from pointing out the associates of Berthold by the habit of

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[64] [129] *Ceterum an monastica monachorum Basilianorum Mandya sive cappa, pura tamen ac simplici, usi sint Carmelitæ jam inde ab initio suæ coitionis sub Bertholdo; an vero illius utendi privilegium acceperint primum ab Alberto simul cum suis circulosis radiis, non facile dixero. Incompertum enim mihi est, utrum ante Albertum voto aliquo ipsi adstricti fuerint, an vero in libero animi proposito perseveraverint sub obedientia electi a se Prioris; donec aliquis, cum plenitudine Apostolicæ potestatis adveniens, approbaret Ordinem, jusque concederet Profeßionis religiosæ, quod ante Albertum nemo fecisse scitur; hic vero fecisse, non tam ostenditur quam præsumitur; quia pro Regula quidem, utrum esset sufficienter approbata, novimus certandum fuisse Carmelitis; non autem pro sua profeßione an faceret vere Religiosos. Quod si eam primus probaretur indulsisse Albertus, consequens mihi videretur, eatenus quoque abstinuisse Bertholdi socios ab habitu perfectum monachum denotante. Hunc porro quandocumque & a quocumque adepti sunt, non existimo simul cum illo accipere solitos nomen novum ac religiosum deposito seculari, quod tamen in usu Orientalium monachorum fuisse observat & docet Goar pag. 496, & nunc sancte a reformatis practicatur: contrarium enim suadent Bertholdi & Alani nomina, e seculo allata atque retenta a primis post Brocardum atque Cyrillum Carmeli Prioribus. Loquor autem de nominibus proprijs: certum est enim, apud Carmelitas æque ac ceteros Mendicantes, aliquot seculorum usu servatum esse, ut a patria quisque sua cognominaretur, omißis familiarum nobilium cognominibus, sicui il'a [sic. illa?] erant. Non etiam expistimo notam fuisse Carmelitis, ab Alberto regulatis, illam in orientali monachatu nominatißimam differentiam* μικροσχήμου *ac* μεγαλοσχήμου magni & parvi habitus; *quorum primus una cum mandya dabatur post exactum probationis triennium profitentibus religionem, & formam quandam habebat veli caput operientis, quale fere sub galero gestandum vides in capite Patriarchæ apud Goarem pag. 115; secundus constabat cucullio & analabo, siue caputio & scapulari, qualia representantur in veste nostri Eliæ, eratque eorum qui vulgari maiorem perfectionem in contemplatione, iejuniis, ac reliqua severiori spiritus & corporis exercitatione profitebantur. Forte etiam, ut nunc in Syria, sic & tunc, cœnobitæ omnes, exceptis novitiis,* μεγαλόσχημοι *erant: de quibus videndus idem Goar annot. I ad officium magni-habitus fol. 517.*

[65] This refers to the right of religious profession.

perfected monks to such a degree. I do not estimate, moreover, that those having been accustomed to this habit, moreover, whenever and by whoever it was acquired, received that new and religious name together with the entrusted secular name that, nevertheless, Goar observes and teaches on page 296 had been in the usage of the Eastern monks[66] and, now having been established, is practised by the reformed ones. For the names Berthold and Alan, having been given from the secular [world] and having been retained by the first Priors of Carmel after Brocard and Cyril, urge the contrary. I speak, however, concerning the proper names. For it is certain that, among the Carmelites and the other Mendicants equally, some usage of secular things was preserved in order that each one would have been denominated from his native land, the surnames of noble families, if there were any, having been omitted. I do not estimate that, having been regulated by Albert, that difference for eastern monasticism, and having called it by the most particular name of μικροσχὴμου and μεγαλοσχὴμου, the small and great[67] habit, had also been known by the Carmelites. The first of which[68] used to be given together with the *mandya* after the three-year period of trial by those professing religion was left behind, and it used to have a certain form of veil covering the head, such as you see needing to be worn under the helmet-like head covering in the chapter of the Patriarch in Goar page 115.[69] The second[70] corresponded to a cap and *analabus*,[71] or capuche and scapular, such as are presented in the vestment of our Elijah, and of those of the multitude who were professing the greater perfection in the contemplation, fasts, and the other more severe discipline of spirit and body. Perhaps, as now in Syria, and, in this way, all the cenobites, with the exception of the novices, were also then μεγαλόσχημοι, concerning which the same Goar, annotation I to the office of the great-habit in folio 517,[72] needs to be seen.

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[66] See Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum: complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum*, 496.

[67] Although given in the opposite order ('great and small') in the original Latin, I have reversed the order of these adjectives here so that the later reference to the first (habit) might more easily be associated with the small habit and the later reference to the second (habit) might more easily be associated with the great habit.

[68] In other words, the small habit.

[69] See Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum: complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum*, 115. The image in question is the image on the right that is reproduced following n. 122 and, where the veil covering the head, mentioned here, can be seen.

[70] In other words, the great habit.

[71] From its shape, the *analabus* (ἀνάλαβος) was also called a cross and it is now often referred to as the *polystaurion* or cross-decorated chasuble.

[72] See Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale graecorum: complectens ritus et ordines divinae liturgiae, officiorum, sacramentorum*, 517.

Chapter 13

The Errors of Those Coming Afterwards Concerning the *Carpita*, and its Change into a White Cape.[1]

The undulated cloaks of the Bishops in Syria and of the Carmelites in Europe having been suppressed on account of the uncertain meaning of the words about to be used for this matter,[2] bars began to be credited to have been set up on those cloaks, and, at length, the bars not having been known any longer, on account of the letter falsely added to Cyril, that thing was something that should have been made up as though sewn together perpendicularly from seven parts, from which, and from the very many other errors also, the author is understood to be much more recent. Because it [the barred cloak] was seen to be ridiculous by those coming after, I have assigned the already mentioned bars to the cloak of Elijah himself, the other fables concerning the beginning of the barred [cloaks] having been invented. On account of this, Honorius IV assented to [them] assuming the white [cloak] in the year 1287. In 1295, Boniface VIII confirmed the change made. Where he talks nonsense about the sheepskin of Elijah, the author of the book concerning the institution of the monks reveals himself to be Latin by being unskilled in the language of a Greek, and he accepts that the cloak of Elijah had been white from an equally false book; and, nevertheless, this and he too is defended [by them]. How the Carmelites still receive the creations of Luitprand.[3]

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[1] *CAPUT XIII. Posterorum circa Carpitam errores, eiusque in albam cappam mutatio.*

[2] The matter in question is the presence of undulating bars or stripes on the cloaks.

[3] *Vndulatis Episcoporum palliis in Syria suppressis & Carmelitarum in Europa, propter dubiam significationem vocum in hæc materia usitatarum, cæperunt credi barræ fuisse in palliis illis erectæ, ac tandem nec barræ quidam agnitæ amplius, propter epistolam Cyrillo affictam, quasi ex 7 partibus perpendiculariter consutis componi illud debuerit, ex quo intelligitur auctor multo recentior, itemque ex aliis erroribus pluribus. Prædictas barras ipsius Eliæ pallio attribui, quia ridiculum posteris visum; excogitata est alia fabula de initio barratæ. Pro hac sumere albam Honorius 4 concessit an. 1287. Bonifacius 8 an. 1295 mu-*

130.[4] Afterwards, Syria having been liberated by the victorious arms of the Saracens from the yoke of the Latin Princes, it arose that the Latins also had Patriarchs and Bishops, substituted according to all the rights and insignia of the Greek Prelates. The Greeks, indeed, continued to accept the rite and Pontiffs of the schism of Constantinople, and to observe only those in matters of faith, but, in public conversation, they were seen to abstain from the proper characteristics of their order and, outside the sacred unions,[5] had been contented simply by the common black habit of the professed monks. Nor did they resume the purple and undulated *mandya* when, afterwards, the Latins having been expelled by means of the Saracens and Turks, obedience to these ones having sincerely been taken upon themselves from having been constrained, they came into the worst servitude, not having ever been set free. For today, also, as those who saw it narrate, there is no difference of garments between a monk, a Bishop or a Patriarch throughout the entire Holy Land, where they are both more secure from the insolence and avarice of the Barbarians and would both live and minister. For which reason, it should seem extraordinary to nobody that the Carmelites (the greater part of whom, after the migration of the Order, had been received for it[6] in Europe) will not have known how to produce a suitable account of their variegated vestment, nor how to assess its dignity in proportion to merit, and, for that reason, having soon wearied of that thing, they will have begun to aspire to a change of the old habit.

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tationem factam confirmavit. Auctor libri de instit. monachorum, dum nugatur circa Eliæ melotam Latinum se prodit, Græcæ lingua ignarum, & pallium illius album fuisse accepit ex libro æque supposititio, tamen defenditur & hic & ipse, quomodo Luitprandi figmenta etiam recipiunt Carmelitæ.

[4] [130] *Postquam victricibus Principum Latinorum armis vindicata a Saracenorum iugo Syria, Latinos quoque cœpit habere Patriarchas Episcoposque, ad omnia Græcorum Antistitum iura insigniaque suffectos; perrexerunt quidem Græci accipere Constantinopoli ritus sui schismatisque Pontifices, eosque in rebus fidei solos observare; sed hi in conversatione publica abstinuisse videntur propriis sui ordinis characteribus, atque extra cœtus sacros communi professorum monachorum habitu simpliciter nigro fuisse contenti. Neque purpureas atque undulatas mandyas postea resumpsere, quando pulsis per Saracenos Turcosque Latinis, ab horum coacta nec unquam sincere præstita obedientia soluti, in peßimam devenere servitutem. Itaque etiam hodie, ut narrant qui viderunt, nulla propalam differentia vestium est per totam Terram-sanctam, inter monachum, Episcopum, aut Patriarcham, quo securiores & vivant & agant a barbarorum insolentia atque avaritia. Quapropter mirum nemini videri debet, quod Carmelitæ (quorum pars maxima post migrationem Ordinis fuerat in Europa ad ipsum recepta) nesciverint congruam variegatæ suæ vestis reddere rationem, neque ejus dignitatem æstimare pro merito, & ideo cito illius pertæsi cœperint aspirare ad habitus veteris mutationem.*

[5] In other words, outside the Sacred Liturgies themselves.

[6] This refers to the Carmelite Order.

131.[7] It seems extraordinary, rather, how this change, having been achieved and brought into use in the year 1287, as is said below, the memory of the first habit had been obscured and confused so quickly that within the course of almost one century it was unknown, and by very many, with which form, with which position of the spokes, the old *carpita* was presented; and, in the end, all turned aside greatly from the truth into a different opinion.[8] These ones also have, nevertheless, some very likely excuse. For it was not generally of the custom to name [them] 'circular' (which word had

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[7] [131] *Potius mirandum videtur, quomodo, ea mutatione anno MCCLXXXVII impetrata & in usum adducta, ut infra dicetur, tam cito obscurata fuerit & confusa primi habitus memoria, ut intra seculi fere unius decursum ignoraretur a plerisque qua forma, quo radiorum situ, Carpita vetus exprimeretur; ac denique omnes in longe diversam a vero opinionem deflecterent. Habent tamen etiam hæc verosimilem excusationem aliquam. Non enim fuit paßim moris nominare circulos (quæ vox nullam ambiguitatem attulisset) sed baras aut barras, aut magis Latine virgas, radios, lineas. Hæ autem postremæ voces, cum essent indifferentes ad situm erectum iacentemve; facile potuit a plerisque dubitari, quomodo in variegata seu barrata cappa ducendi essent colores. Et quamvis baræ ac barræ nomen, proprie acceptum, apud Teutones & Francos huic dubitationi minus esset obnoxium, ut linguarum & rei armorialis peritis constat: quia tamen apud Italos Hispanosque bara ac vara priorum vocum iam induerant indifferentiam; ipsi quos dixi Franci ac Teutones non ita sibi constitere, ad significandam ea voce figuram, angustam ac longam, de latere ad latus ductam; ut non etiam eamdem sic appellarent aliquando, ubi ad perpendiculum erigebatur. Hoc vero ipsis etiam Græcis usuvenisse comperimus, quibus licet tam nota & celebria essent flumina, circumcurrentia pallium Episcopale: in* Στιχαρίῳ *tamen seu tunica sacrificali (quæ nostræ respondet Albæ, & unius paßim coloris erat; Patriarchæ autem soli intexta erat lineis albis rubeisque, ab humeris ad pedes usque ductis) eædem lineæ, perpendiculariter ductæ, similiter vocabantur flumina, significantes doctrinam a Patriarchis descendentem ad inferiores quosque ecclesiæ Ordines. Nihil autem ad obliterandam veram Carmeliticarum barrarum notitiam æque videtur valuisse, quam abominatio similitudinis circulorum, per muliebres stolas disponi solitorum, ex omnium fere Europæarum gentium usu: unde fiebat ut proniores essent animi ad concipiendas virgas erectas seu strias, qualibus vestes suas distinguunt Turcæ, & qui inter eos Turcico utuntur habitu. Itaque cum anno MDXXII hospitalis camera Coloniensis conventus ornaretur picturis, ordinis Carmelitici historiam repræsentantibus, in ea quæ variegationem habitus, Homaro tyranno imputatam, quæque transfretaturos ex Syria in Europam Fratres continebat pictura, expressum est pallium ipsumque caputium ea qua superiori seculo gestabant forma, sed senis septenisve nigris laciniis perpendiculariter defluentibus distinctum. Antuerpiæ vero cum in simili camera duabus grandibus picturis Homari tyrannidem & adventum in Franciam pingeret alius anno MDCIX, ex eorum qui ipsum conduxerant instructione, dimißis caputiis sola pinxit pallia, eaque oppido striata; adeo ut ex conspicuis in tabula virgis nigris inconspicuarum quoque iniens rationem, sexdecim aut plures in unoquoque pallio numerare te oporteat. Ex utrisque tabulis eccum tibi sequenti pagina descriptum specimen, quod sufficiat ut cognoscas, quam non modo veteris Carpitæ formam tunc ignoraverint Carmelitæ, verum etiam quam diversimode, pro suæ quisque imaginationis captu, effinxerit variegationem, solo nomine tenus ex veteri Ordinis traditione & scriptoribus notam.*

[8] Later that same year, Papenbroeck nuanced the claim made here that 'all turned aside greatly' when he recognised that the change from a cloak with horizontal bars to a white cloak was explicitly acknowledged in the representation of the change of cloak imposed by the tyrant Umar, as was then alleged, that he saw in the Carmelite convent in Louvain, see Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 10 (Apr II):xxxix n. 28. The image reproduced by him at that time is that presented below, before n. 131, on the left.

carried no ambiguity) but 'bars' and 'barrs', or, with more cause in Latin, 'rods', 'spokes' 'lines'. These last words, however, since they are indifferent to the raised up or lying down position, and to how the colours were disposed on the 'variegated' or 'barred' cape, could easily be doubted by very many. And, although the name *'bara'* and *'barra'*, having been received in the proper sense, is less liable to this doubt among the Teutonics and Franks, as it proves right for those skilled in languages and in the matter of coats of arms. Nevertheless, because among the Italians and Spaniards, the first of the words, *'bara'* and *'vara'*, will have assumed equivalence, the very ones whom I have called Franks and Teutonics did not themselves agree in this way about the figure needing to be signified by that word, narrow and long, disposed from side to side, so that they were also never calling it in this way when it was raised up to the perpendicular. We have also learned, in truth, that this had happened also to the Greeks themselves, although for them the 'rivers' running around the Episcopal cloak are so known and renowned. Nevertheless, in the Στιχαρίῳ[9] or sacrificial tunic (which corresponds to our Alb and was generally of one colour, white and red lines extending from the shoulders as far as the feet having been woven in) of the Patriarch alone, the same lines, having been guided perpendicularly, were similarly called 'rivers', and which were descending to the lower Orders of the church, signifying the teaching by the Patriarchs. In like manner, concerning the true fame of the Carmelite bars needing to be obliterated, however, nothing seems to have had the strength that the abomination of the similarity of the circular figures accustomed to be disposed all over the womanly gowns that were of service to almost all the European peoples had. From which it was being fashioned so that the more inclined stripes or furrows needing to be perceived to the mind as having been raised up,[10] of the kind by which the Turks distinguish their vestments, and which is made use of by the Turkish habit among them. And so, when the arched roof of the guest's accommodation of the Cologne convent was decorated with paintings presenting the history of the Carmelite Order in the year 1522, and which contained a painting, 'The Brothers about to be transferred from Syria to Europe, thanks to the tyrant Umar',[11] in that which the cloak and the same capuche, in the same form they were wearing in the preceding century, was presented, the variegation of the habit, but having been distinguished by small black stripes, six or seven each, flowing down perpendicularly, was presented. Since on a similar arched roof in Antwerp, in fact,

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[9] Pronounced *'stichario'*.

[10] As opposed to lying down (horizontally), presumably.

[11] The Muslim Caliph Umar conquered Palestine about the year 640.

another painted the tyranny of Umar and the arrival in France with two large paintings in the year 1609, from the instruction of those who were assembling the very thing, the capuches having been abandoned, he painted the cloaks alone, and they having been completely striated, so much that from the visible black rods on the picture, also making an estimate of the invisible ones, you would need to number sixteen or even more in each cloak. Behold an example for you from the following page having been sketched from both pictures, that should be sufficient so that you might know, not only which form of the old *carpita* the Carmelites will now not have been acquainted with, but which, in a different manner, on account of its seizing of the imagination, whatever it be, will also have fashioned the variegation, a snare, and one known to the writers,[12] with only the name of being from the tradition of the old Order.

The representations in the Albert dossier of the images of the cloak with broad vertical stripes in the Cologne painting (left) and of the cloak with narrow vertical stripes in the Antwerp painting (centre). On the right, Papenbroeck's representation, in the following volume of the *Acta Sanctorum*, of the change from a horizontal-striped cloak to a white cloak in the painting in the Louvain Carmel.[13]

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[12] In chronological order, the writers concerned would seem to have been Henry Knighton , St Antoninus of Florence OP, Giacomo Filippo Foresti, Johannes Herold and Antoine Furetière, see Papenbroeck SJ, *Responsio... ad exhibitionem errorum*, 2:182-188 (XVII ad XV).

[13] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 10 (Apr II):xxxviii.

132.[14] This thing is true that, in general, having nothing certain that might have resulted from them, we easily overlook the errors committed. In this way we neither can nor should show an almost incredible astonishment for that one, who, under the name of Cyril, 'the third Prior', fabricated the letter. And [the cloak] of its Carmelite[15] was not only circular, but also acquired rods, leaving the diversity of colour only, together with the other thing that we have demonstrated at length above, for it speaks in this way: As you know, the 'barred cloak'[16]

> ... consists of seven parts in two colours, each distinct from its neighbour but sewn together, the whole forming one piece and falling vertically from the collar to the ankles. Of these, three parts are black or grey and the other four are white, which are arranged in the cloak in order. When worn, the cloak descends in front from the breast to the feet and is completely split or open all the way, and the parts at the opening are white. Now the second part on the right side is black and also the second on the left side. The third part on the right side is white, which is the colour of the third on the left side. But the last part at the back, set in the middle of the cloak, is black. This cloak, the members of this Order long ago called a *car-*

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[14] [132] *Verum ut commissos hoc in genere errores ignoscimus facile, nihil certum habentibus quod sequerentur; ita ferre non possumus nec debemus stuporem pene incredibilem illius, qui sub nomine Cyrilli Prioris III confinxit epistolam; suisque Carmelitis non tantum circulos, sed & virgas abstulit, solam relinquens coloris diversitatem, cum forma longe alia quam supra demonstravimus: sic enim loquitur. Barratum pallium, sicut scis, ex septem partibus duplicis coloris ab invicem distinctis, sed consutis, ipsum totaliter integrantibus, perpendiculariter a collo usque ad talos descendentibus, constat: quarum tres sunt nigræ sive griseæ, aliæ vero quatuor sunt albæ: quæ sic existunt in pallio ordinatæ. Indutum siquidem pallium, ante a pectore descendendo usque ad pedes, est totaliter fissum seu apertum, & partes fissionis sunt albæ; secunda autem pars a latere dextro est nigra, & etiam secunda a latere sinistro; tertia vero pars a latere dextro est alba, quem colorem retinet tertia a latere sinistro: sed ultima pars, retro in medio pallii existens, est nigra. Hoc pallium professores hujus Religionis antiquitus appellabant Carpitam, postmodum consueverunt ipsam vocare chlamydem seu mantellum. Hactenus ille, totus deinde in explicando quatuor albarum partium mysterio effusus, nihil dicens de tribus nigris seu griseis; sed ita insulse, ut non nisi cum magna Cyrilli iniuria, quem volunt fuisse litteratissimum, ejusmodi farrago eidem attribuatur. Interim mysteria illa sic placuerunt Trithemio, aut potius ei qui Trithemio obtulit sub ejus nomine vulgandum libellum, ab aliquo Carmelita compositum (quomodo scio & demonstrare possum, Cartaghenæ [sic. Carthagenae?], Miræo, Bollando, Henschenio, Hazaert, aliisque varia huius generis scripta, a stylo ipsorum diversißima, esse oblata, rogatis ut ea in nomen suum asciscerent, quod a Carthagena & Miræo impetrarunt) sic, inquam, mysteria ista placuerunt auctori libri, qui de ortu & progressu Carmelitarum prefert Trithemii titulum, ut ea verbotenus non dubitarit transcribere.*

[15] In other words, the Carmelite cloak as presented in the Letter of Cyril.

[16] Rather than following exactly the use of italics to indicate direct quotations, their use here for 'ut scis' has been interpreted in the light of the actual text cited.

pita[17] (*carpita*), but later they used to refer to it as a cloak (*clamidis*) or a mantle (*mantellus*).[18]

Then, that whole thing having been poured out thus far in the case of the mystery of the four white parts needing to be explained, saying nothing concerning the three black or grey parts; but in this way, absurdly, so that, not unless it is with great injury to Cyril, whom they wish to have been most literate, a hodgepodge of this kind might be attributed to the same one. Meantime, those mysteries pleased Trithemius in such a way, or, better, pleased the one who, under the name, Trithemius, presented the little book, having been composed by some Carmelite, needing to be published (I know and I can demonstrate from Bolland, Henschen,[19] Hazart,[20] de Carthagena, le Mire,[21] and from the various other writings of this kind how they were very different, presented with the style of those ones having been asked that in their name they might have appropriated to themselves what they obtained from de Carthagena and le Mire) in this way, I say, these mysteries pleased the author of the book, who, concerning the beginning and progress of the Carmelites, displays the title of Trithemius so that it would not be doubted that those things were transcribed word for word.

133.[22] I do not now ask how cold and outside the purpose so articulated and verbose a description of his cloak that he is supposed to wear,

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[17] The translation given by Copsey translates *carpita* as 'cape', see Richard Copsey O.Carm., ed. *The Ten Books on the Way of Life and Great Deeds of the Carmelites (including The Book of the First Monks). A Medieval History of the Carmelites written c. 1385 by Felip Ribot, O.Carm*, vol. 1, Early Carmelite Spirituality (Faversham, Kent: British Province of Carmelites, 2005), 108.

[18] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 26 page 2.

[19] Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):500 (n. 9).

[20] See Cornelius Hazart SJ, *Kerkelijke Historie van de geeheele wereldt...* 4 vols. (Antwerp: Michael Cnobbaert, 1667-71), 4:133-134.

[21] See Ioannes Trithemius OSB, Aubert Miraeus (Le Mire), and Ioannis de Carthagena, *De ortu et progressu ac viris illustribus ordinis gloriosissimae Dei genetricis, semper virginis, Mariae de Monte Carmelo* (Cologne: Sumptibus Iodoci Kalckoven, 1643), 20-21.

[22] [133] *Non quæro nunc quam frigida extraque propositum sit tam articulata verbosaque descriptio ejus pallii, quod is supponitur gestare ipsemet, ad quem fingitur epistola dirigi. Vnum quæro, quæ hic sit forma, non dico circulorum aut bararum propriæ dictarum; sed virgarum, radiorum, linearum? quæ omnes voces (nisi me prorsus fugit sermonis humani intellectus) exiguam valde latitudinem denotant, respectu multo maioris & indefinitæ longitudinis. Sume enim mihi, si placet, mensuram pallii, vt potes longißimi pedum geometricorum sex; illud, ut minime sinuosum sit in suo inferiori orbe, nec nisi ter eamdem complectatur mensuram (quæ in sinuosiori pallio deberet quinies aut sexies replicari, habebit tamen in circumferentia pedes saltem octodecim: hos porro septifariam divide & invenies singulas partes seu petias,*

pita[17] (*carpita*), but later they used to refer to it as a cloak (*clamidis*) or a mantle (*mantellus*).[18]

Then, that whole thing having been poured out thus far in the case of the mystery of the four white parts needing to be explained, saying nothing concerning the three black or grey parts; but in this way, absurdly, so that, not unless it is with great injury to Cyril, whom they wish to have been most literate, a hodgepodge of this kind might be attributed to the same one. Meantime, those mysteries pleased Trithemius in such a way, or, better, pleased the one who, under the name, Trithemius, presented the little book, having been composed by some Carmelite, needing to be published (I know and I can demonstrate from Bolland, Henschen,[19] Hazart,[20] de Carthagena, le Mire,[21] and from the various other writings of this kind how they were very different, presented with the style of those ones having been asked that in their name they might have appropriated to themselves what they obtained from de Carthagena and le Mire) in this way, I say, these mysteries pleased the author of the book, who, concerning the beginning and progress of the Carmelites, displays the title of Trithemius so that it would not be doubted that those things were transcribed word for word.

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the very one for whom the letter pretends to be drawn up, would be. One thing I ask: should this form, here, be, I do not say 'of circles' or 'of bars' properly speaking, but 'of rods, spokes, lines'? All these words (unless the understanding of human talk shuns me utterly) strongly denote a short width with respect to a much greater and indefinite length. For, take it from me, if it suits you, the measure of the longest cloak that you can [have] is of six geometrical feet. As that cloak would be least full of folds in its lower ring, nor unless it would enfold three times the same measure (which in a cloak that was more full of folds might be replicated five or six times),[23] nevertheless, it will have at least eighteen feet in circumference. Divide those again sevenfold and you find the individual parts or pieces about to have more than two and a half feet of breadth and, having been gathered together according to the length presupposed, about so long as to be equal to almost its half.[24] Who by needing to mention the parts that were so remarkably wide, so insufficiently long,[25] however, dared that [the words] 'spokes, lines, rods' were to be said? And the London Chapter had forbidden drawing these things going to be from the neck to the ankles to be joined together? From the sense of the same writer, and from the use of the greater number, had it been almost necessary that it had commanded that it was to be woven? That it was not able to be done unless by producing enormously wide cloth, in such a way that by its width it might have answered for the whole length of the future cloak.[26] Therefore, the nature itself of the thing clearly compelled the artists who were summoned to Cologne and Antwerp, I have said above,

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habituras latitudinis pedes plusquam duos & semis; atque adeo collatas ad longitudinem præsuppositam, fere æquaturas hujus medietatem. Partes autem tam insigniter latas, tam parum longas, quis fando audivit, radios, lineas, virgas dici? Et has vetuisset Loudinense Capitulum consui, ducendo futuras a collo ad talos? quod hujus ipsius scriptoris sensu ex usu maiorum ac fere necessarium erat; contexi iussisset? quod fieri non poterat nisi fabricardo pannum enormiter latum, sic ut latitudo ejus responderet toti longitudini futuri pallii. Ipsa igitur natura rei pictores, quos supra dixi Coloniæ Antuerpiæque adhibitos, plane coegit, multo plures quam tres nigras partes imaginando concipere, ut possent barratum pallium quadamtenus repræsentare.

[23] Since the original text does not include a close of bracket, it is inserted here as this would seem to be the natural place for it.

[24] Presumably in the sense that the seven pieces were each two and a half feet wide at the end that formed the hem (all seven adding up to the circumference of eighteen feet) but only about half that width (one and a quarter feet) at the point where the cloak encircled the shoulders (all seven adding up to a circumference of nine feet).

[25] In other words, about six feet long and one and a quarter feet wide at the shoulders and two and a half feet wide at the hem.

[26] In other words, using cloth six feet wide and cutting the wedge shaped pieces from that cloth but increasing the number of pieces to something much greater than seven so that, in comparison to the six feet, their width would give the impression of 'spokes, lines, rods'.

to compose by imagining many more than three black parts, so that they could present a cloak having been barred to a certain extent.

134.[27] Those things having been set down in this way, and the incongruences of those that are shown under the name or Cyril having been demonstrated, no other thing remains than that the incongruences, as nothing less than the bars on it, would show him who described the barred cloak in this way had not worn a cloak of this kind, nor, at least, had he seen it presented in the true painting. Therefore he assumes the person of Cyril in vain; in vain he pretends that his contemporary Eusebius wrote to him; in vain the truthfulness of the book to Caprasius, as though, having written of the Order a long time before Albert, he had once existed before the Rule; [in vain] the Carmelites hope to be able to be sustained by the testimony of so coarse a writer, who could not be on his guard lest he indicate openly that it was he himself who wrote at that time in which the name *'carpita'*, having been made use of by the ancients, had been changed to the name 'mantle', that is a long time after the London Chapter under which the *carpita* was not only generally named, but it was itself 'the sign of Religion'.[28] Cyril, assuredly, was otherwise and, if anything, he would clearly have wanted to

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[27] [134] *Istis sic positis, & eorum quæ sub nomine Cyrilli ostentantur incogruentia demonstrata; aliud non restat, quam ut dicamus, eum qui pallium barratum sic descripsit, ut in eo nihil minus quam barras exhibeat, ejusmodi pallium nec gestasse, nec vidisse saltem in vera pictura expressum. Frustra igitur Cyrilli personam assumit: frustra ad coævum eius Eusebium se scribere fingit: frustra veritatem libri ad Caprasium, quasi is diu ante Albertum scriptus Ordini aliquando pro Regula fuerit, sperant Carmelitæ posse sustineri scriptoris tam insulsi testimonio: qui nec cavere potuit, quin palam indicaret se scribere eo tempore, quo Carpitæ nomen, antiquis usurpatum, in mantelli nomen conversum fuerat, id est diu post Londinense Capitulum, sub quo Carpita non tantum nominabatur paßim, sed erat ipsius Religionis signum. Aliter profecto Cyrillus, siquid tale scribere voluisset, & plane e converso. Scripsisset enim, quod veteribus Pallium, & tunc a Græcis ac Syris Mandyon seu Mandya dicebatur, id a Fratribus Latinis suæ linguæ dialecto vocari Carpitam, idque non ita pridem usu esse inductum. Omitto reliquas epistolæ huius abnormitates, circa Aymericum Lemovicensem, cui præter seculi istius morem addit cognomen Mala fayda de villa appellata Salamiacum, & quem in Terra-sancta Apostolicæ sedis Legatum fingit; circa Bertholdum, quem facit Aymerici fratrem, & anno MCXXI ait electum esse Priorem; circa Albertum, qui anno MCXC Regulam dederit; quæ omnia ex supra dictis corruunt. Duo addo, de pallii colore ac mensura per epistolam designatis, & dico, quod ætate Cyrilli & institutione adhuc recenti, minime dubium fuerit griseusne an niger color intersecaret album; imo quod non nisi griseus haberi potuerit, quando ex stamine albo, subtemine per alternas virgas nunc albo nunc nigro, contexebatur pannus carpitus. Dico etiam quod eiusdem Cyrilli ætate non ultra genua descenderit Carpita Carmelitica, pro qua substitutum pallium album ad talos usque laxior disciplina posterorum, scriptori æqualium, fecit defluere: quod, ut abusum gravißimum & contrarium eremiticæ simplicitati, ante omnia reformandum iudicavere Teresiani; repudiantes etiam colorem nigrum, tamquam a prima institutione alienißimum.*

[28] See the text of the Constitutions issued by the 1282 Chapter quoted by Papenbroeck in n. 127.

write such a thing from the opposing point of view. For he had written that, for those of old, this thing, the 'Cloak', and it was then called a 'Mandyon' or 'Mandya' by the Greeks and Syrians, was called by the Latin Brothers a '*carpita*'[29] in the dialect of their language, and, in this way, it was not long ago brought into use. I omit the remaining irregularities of this letter, concerning Aimery of Limoges, to whom outside the custom of this century, he adds the surname Mala fayda from the country estate called Salamiacum, and whom he imagines the Legate of the Apostolic See in the Holy Land,[30] concerning Berthold, whom he makes the brother of Aimery, and whom he says was elected Prior in the year 1121,[31] concerning Albert, who will have given the Rule in the year 1190,[32] which, from the things having been said above, overthrows everything. I add two, concerning the colour of the cloak and the measurement of the designated things by means of the letter, and I say that, from the time of Cyril and from the recent institution until now, there had been very little doubt whether it was the black or grey colour that separated the white; on the contrary that it could not have been unless grey, when the goat-hair cloth is woven from the white foundation threads, with that which is woven in by means of alternate rods being now from white, now from black.[33] I say also that from the time of the same Cyril the *carpita* will not have come down beyond the knees, on account of which, having been substituted by the discipline of those coming after, those of like [age] to the writer, the white cloak made it flow down to the ankles. Repudiating also the colour black as a most serious abuse and something contrary to eremitical simplicity, just as something most alien from the first institution, the Teresians judged that [thing] needing to be reformed before all things.

135.[34] And these things are also more satisfactory concerning the error about the form of the *carpita*: rarely should anything be excused

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[29] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 26 page 2.

[30] See ibid., 28 page 2.

[31] See ibid., 29 page 1.

[32] See ibid. Papenbroeck's '*MCXC* (1190)' may be based on a misreading of Cattaneo's text, which reads '*M.c.xc.nono*' (1199).

[33] In other words, with the white foundation threads being always visible, the addition of white or black threads woven in could produce only an overall impression of either white or grey but never black.

[34] [135] *Atque hæc de errore circa formam Carpitæ plus satis; circa ejus originem nihilo parcius indultum est fabulis, ab omni veri specie remotißimis. Cum viverent & scriberent Bergomensis & Antoninus, nec paßim cognitus esset liber sub nomine Ioannis Hierosolymitani fabricatus, pro inconcussa traditione adhuc dicebatur a Carmelitis, istum habitum fuisse Eliæ Prophetæ, habitantis in monte Carmelo in Syria, quod tamen (ut idem Antoninus merito addit) neque in sacra neque in authentica scriptura reperitur. Cum autem dicerent aliqui ex Pseudo-Ioanne Eliæ pallium pure candidum fuisse; respondit Ioannes Hildeshemiensis in Defensorio*

from the fables, most remote from every true kind, concerning the *carpita*'s origin. Since the one from Bergamo[35] and Antoninus were living and writing,[36] nor had the book constructed under the name of John of Jerusalem been generally known, on account of the unshaken tradition it was being said by the Carmelites that 'the habit had been that of Elijah the Prophet dwelling on Mount Carmel in Syria, which habit, nevertheless' (as the same Antoninus justly adds) 'is found neither in the sacred nor in the authentic scriptures'.[37] Since, however, some might say from Pseudo-John[38] that the cloak of Elijah had been purely of a dazzling white,[39] John of Hildesheim (assuredly a man as truthful in this as in having asserted the martyrdom of St Peter Thomas and I know not from what vision of it[40]) responds in the *Defensorium* that the same [cloak]

> having been let go from the fiery chariot, having been touched by the fire, it was slightly blackened or discoloured in the parts on the outside, but it retained the pristine colour in the folded parts.[41]

That, venerating the mystery, and preserving that same cloak up to the last overthrow of the Carmelite desert,[42] the successors of Elijah will have transferred to their cloaks (*chlamydes*) that same difference of

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(vir utique tam in hoc verax, quam in asserto S. Petri Thomæ martyrio & nescio qua illius visione) quod ipsum de curru igneo dimissum, tactum ab igne fuit modicum denigratum seu discoloratum in partibus extrinsecis, sed retinuit colorem pristinum in partibus involutis: quod mysterium venerantes Eliæ successores, & usque ad extremum Carmeliticæ eremi excidium ipsum illud pallium conservantes, eamdem colorum varietatem ad perpetuam rei memoriam in suas chlamydes transtulerint, & usque ad Honorii IV ætatem retinuerint. Si tam certa est reliqua Historia Carmelitarum, prout ab ipsis tractatur, quam certum est miraculosum istud Eliæ pallium conservatum in Carmelo fuisse usque ad annum MCCXCI, & quidem ita semiustum; nihil scilicet est quod de ea dubitemus amplius. Sed scrupulum injicit ipse Lezana ad annum mundi 3204, cum audet dicere, quod ista de Eliæ pallio variegato assertio, sit puerilis & nullo nixa fundamento. Quid enim si nihilo meliori fundamento subnixa sint cetera, quæ non aliunde quam ex simili antiquiorum Carmelitarum pretensa traditione habentur? Iudicent alii, ego ἀπέχω.

[35] This refers to Giacomo Filippo Foresti.

[36] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221; Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum. Cui insuper addita est accessio complectens quae ab anno 1500 ad annum 1535 tum hic tum alibi gesta sunt*, 294 (1200 AD).

[37] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221.

[38] From the context, this title probably refers to Philip Ribot.

[39] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 26 page 2.

[40] St Peter Thomas O.Carm., the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, was not, in fact, martyred and, by implication, the truthfulness of what John of Hildesheim asserts here is to be doubted.

[41] See John of Hildesheim, *Defensorium ordinis de monte Carmelo/Dialogus inter Directorem et Detractorem*, 11, in Staring O.Carm., *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 361 (494-497.

[42] The word 'desert' seems to be used here in the sense of hermitage.

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[35] This refers to Giacomo Filippo Foresti.

[36] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221; Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum. Cui insuper addita est accessio complectens quae ab anno 1500 ad annum 1535 tum hic tum alibi gesta sunt*, 294 (1200 AD).

[37] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221.

[38] From the context, this title probably refers to Philip Ribot.

[39] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 26 page 2.

[40] St Peter Thomas O.Carm., the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, was not, in fact, martyred and, by implication, the truthfulness of what John of Hildesheim asserts here is to be doubted.

[41] See John of Hildesheim, *Defensorium ordinis de monte Carmelo/Dialogus inter Directorem et Detractorem*, 11, in Staring O.Carm., *Medieval Carmelite Heritage*, 361 (494-497.

[42] The word 'desert' seems to be used here in the sense of hermitage.

colours for a perpetual memory of the thing, and will have retained it up as far as the age of Honorius IV. If the remaining History of the Carmelites, just as it is treated by the same, is as certain as it is certain that this miraculous cloak of Elijah had been preserved on Carmel up as far as the year 1291, and, indeed, in this way, half-burned, there is nothing concerning these things that we should doubt further, you may be sure.[43] But de Lezana himself inspires a scruple when, for the year of the world 3204, he dares to say that this 'assertion' concerning the variegated cloak of Elijah is 'puerile and having rested on no firm foundation'.[44] For what if the other things, which are not from another source than from the similar alleged tradition of the ancient Carmelites, have been supported by no better foundation? Let the others judge, I ἀπέχω.[45]

136.[46] When substituting one fable for another, and insisting on the vestiges of his Pseudo-John,[47] who chatters idly about many things concerning the white cloak of Elijah,[48] Pseudo-Cyril decided it before-

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[43] The statement made here should probably be read as ironic.

[44] See de Lezana O.Carm., *Summa quaestionum*, 1:286 n. 12.

[45] Papenbroeck used the New Testament Greek word, ἀπέχω, that is used by St Paul in Philippians 4:18 to mean 'I am amply supplied' or 'I abstain.'

[46] [136] *Præjudicavit Pseudo-Cyrillus, quando uni fabulæ substituens aliam, & sui æque Pseudo-Ioannis insistens vestigiis, qui multa de albo pallio Eliæ garrit; tentavit inducere aliam de Barrati pallii origine opinionem, auctorem illius faciendo Humarum tyrannum, Arabem natione, superstitione Saracenum; qui occupata anno DCXXXIX Hierosolyma, & in monachis sibi invisis non fercus dehonestari ut rebatur colorem album, solis Saracenorum Satrapis concessum, iusserit barratis palliis uti. Fabulæ occasionem dedisse potuit, quod (sicut ex Villanio scribit S. Antoninus) Soldanus Saracenorum, qui prius Carmelitas habebat in reverentia propter Eliam Prophetam, mutato habitu eis dato a Papa, in contemptum Papæ & fidelium fecit eos expelli de monte Carmelo, quam expulsionem circa finem seculi XIII accidisse scio; tali ex causa factam esse aliis probandum relinquo. Certum est, quod tempore Honorii IV Fratres Carmelitæ mantellos barratos, ex albo & nigro seu griseo variegatos, quos antea portaverant & tunc portabant, in cappas albas commutaverunt, ut ait auctor Ms. de vitis Pontificum, usque ad Martinum quintum pertingens. Huic coævus S. Antoninus tit. 20 capite 5. Eodem tempore inquit, cum Fratres Ordinis Carmelitarum deferrent habitum, qui minus convenire videbatur viris religiosis, scilicet cappam circulatam largis virgis & griseis... Papa Honorius IV, propter maiorem honestatem, mandavit, habitum illum demittere, & desuper cappas ex toto albas, & tunicas subtus nigras cum scapularibus assumere. Ob quæ verba quid tantopere arguendum putaverit Antoninum Wastelius in Vindiciis equidem non video: commode enim intelligitur ex hoc loco, id solum mutatum quod auctor solum significaverat iudicatum esse minus conveniens, nec prorsus inepte addidit tunicæ ac scapularis mentionem; ut totum Ordinis habitum exprimeret, qui totus videri poterat prescriptus ab Honorio, alteram eius partem eamque precipuam innovando, alteram approbando. Quod si obscuritas hic sit aliqua, profecto ignoscenda est Antonino, de ea re scribenti, quæ solum fuerat Viva voce, ut loquitur Paleonydorus, Carmelitis concessa.*

[47] From the context, this title probably refers to Philip Ribot.

[48] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 26 page 2 (chapter 5).

hand. He tried to introduce another opinion concerning the origin of the barred cloak by making Umar the tyrant its author. An Arab by birth, a Saracen by superstition, who, having occupied Jerusalem in the year 639, and, as he was deeming that the colour white was a concession of the Satraps of the Saracens alone, it not being productive to be himself disgraced, having cast an evil eye on the monks, he had ordered barred cloaks to be used.[49] What had given the opportunity for the fable could have been that (just as St Antoninus wrote out of Villani):[50]

> A soldier of the Saracens, who earlier was holding the Carmelites in reverence on account of Elijah the Prophet, having changed the habit given to them by the Pope, in contempt of the Pope and of the faithful, had them expelled from Mount Carmel.[51]

Which expulsion happened about the end of the thirteenth century, I know; that it was done with such a motive I leave needing to be proved by others. It is certain that,

> from the time of Honorius IV the barred mantles, variegated with white and black or grey, which the Carmelite Brothers will have carried afterwards and were then carrying, were changed into white capes

as the author of the manuscript concerning the lives of the Pontiffs extending down as far as Martin V says.[52] St Antoninus, a contemporary to him, in title 20, chapter 5, says:

> At the same time, when the Brothers of the Order of the Carmelites were carrying a habit that was seen to be less suited to religious men, a circular cape with large and grey rods ... on account of greater respectability, Pope Honorius IV ordered [them] to put down that habit and to assume, from above, completely white capes and, beneath, black tunics with scapulars.[53]

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[49] See ibid., 26 page 2 (chapter 6). This decree by Umar is depicted above in the image on the right before n. 132.

[50] See Giovanni Villani, *La Nuova Cronica*, 8:109, in Giovanni Porta, ed. *Cronica, di Giovanni Villani*, Letteratura italiana Einaudi (Parma: Fundazione Pietro Bembo/Guanda, 1991), 473-474.

[51] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221.

[52] The text of this manuscript is repeated in later printed lives of the Popes, see Ludovico Antonio Muratori, ed. *Anastasii Bibliothecarii Vitae Romanorum Pontificum a Beato Petro Apostolo ad Nicolaum I*, Rerum italicarum scriptores (Milan: Ex Typographis Socitatis Palatinae in Regia Curia, 1723), 612.

[53] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221.

In front of these words, I do not see what Wasteels in the *Vindications*[54] will have regarded Antoninus needing to have made known in so high a degree. For it is rightly understood from that place, that that thing alone was changed that the author alone will have indicated was judged less in harmony, nor did he add the mention of the tunic and scapular absolutely ineptly, as he was expressing the whole habit of the Order, which, by approving the other, could be seen to be the whole prescribed by Honorius, that particular part needing to be altered and the other part of it. That if there be a certain obscurity here, it must certainly be unknown to Antoninus, the one writing concerning this matter, which had only been conceded to the Carmelites 'by word of mouth',[55] as Palaeonydorus says.[56]

137.[57] Conceded, I say, rather than commanded. For Boniface VIII, the successor of Honorius after Nicholas IV and Celestine V, speaks in this way to the General and to the other Priors and Brothers of the Order of the Blessed Mary from Mount Carmel in the year 1295, the seventh day counting back from the calends of December.[58]

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[54] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:97 (1:3).

[55] Literally 'with the living voice'.

[56] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 113.

[57] [137] *Concessa, inquam, potius quam mandata. Sic enim loquitur successor Honorii, post Nicolaum IV & Cælestinum V, Bonifacius VIII, Generali & ceteris Prioribus & Fratribus Ordinis B. Mariæ de monte Carmelo anno MCCXCV, VII Kal. Decembris. Lecta coram nobis vestra petitio continebat, quod olim B. M. Latino Ostiensi Episcopo & Gervasio tit. S. Martini in montibus Presb. Card. significantibus per suas litteras, inter alia continentes, quod fel. record. Honorius Papa IV, prædecessor noster, de Fratrum suorum consilio, eis pia & provida deliberatione concesserat, ut eorum habitum sive varietatem ipsius, minus decentem & displicentem quam pluribus, in alium decentem commutasset. Idemque Prior Generalis & Fratres, postmodum in Capitulo congregati prædicto, deliberatione super huiusmodi mutatione præhabita diligente, unanimiter statuerunt, ut ex tunc ceteri Priores & Fratres ipsius Ordinis, mantellis diversorum colorum, quibus uti consueverant, dimissis, omnino cappis albis in posterum uterentur. Nos itaque vestris supplicationibus inclinati, quod circa huiusmodi habitus mutationem in hac parte provide factum est, ratum & firmum habentes, id auctoritate Apostolica confirmamus. Capitulum illud Generale, cuius meminit Pontifex, habitum fuerat, ut Palæonydorus scribit, in Monte Pessulano anno MCCLXXXVII, in die B. Mariæ Magdalenæ, tribus & dimidio mensibus post mortem Honorii, convenientibus illuc Provincialibus tam Terræ-sanctæ & Siciliæ, quam etiam Tusciæ, Franciæ, Alemanniæ, Lombardiæ, Aquitaniæ, Angliæ, Hispaniæ, Hiberniæ, &c. quæ enumeratio magnam arguit multiplicationem Ordinis per Europam intra annos vix quinquaginta. Reversis autem qui ex Syria venerant, & habitum ex Pontificio indulto mutantibus, offendi potuere, ut dictum est, Saraceni, ac tandem Religiosos ex sancto monte expulisse, ut ait Villanius ex eoque Antoninus. De eadem habitus mutatione agens Bergomensis, colorem capparum album electum fuisse ait, ob honorem Virginis Mariæ; quod sane verosimillimum est, cum ab ea nomen iam haberet Ordo, eiusque imitationem ac reverentiam singulariter in omnibus & ubique spectaret.*

[58] In modern terms, November 25th.

> Having been read in our presence, your petition was comprising that formerly from Gervase of happy memory, Latin Bishop of Ostia and with the title of *San Martino ai Monti*, by means of his letters, comprising among other things that Pope Honorius IV of happy memory, our predecessor, from the counsel of his Brothers, with devout and prudent deliberation will have conceded to them that he would change their habit or its very difference, less becoming than very many and displeasing, for another becoming one. And the same Prior General and Brothers, after having been gathered together a little later in the already mentioned Chapter, having already diligently held a consultation over a change of this kind, unanimously established that, from then, the other Priors and Brothers of the same Order, having put down the mantles of different colours that they were accustomed to use, would use totally white capes in the future. We, therefore, bowing to your supplications, holding it ratified and enduring that thing concerning the change in this part of the habit prudently made in this way, we confirm it with Apostolic authority.[59]

That General Chapter, the Pontiff of which remembered [how] the habit had been, was 'on Mount Pessualanus in the year 1287, on the day of Bl. Mary Magdalen', as Palaeonydorus wrote,[60] three and a half months after the death of Honorius, 'the Provincials of the Holy Land and Sicily as well as of Tuscany , France, Germany, Lombardy, Aquitaine, England, Spain, Ireland etc.', which enumeration shows the great multiplication of the Order throughout Europe within almost forty years, having been assembled in that place. Having returned and having changed the habit by Pontifical indult, however, those who came from Syria could have been offending, as it was said, and, at length, the Saracens expelled the Religious from the holy mountain, as Villani said,[61] Antoninus equally.[62] The one from Bergamo[63] treating concerning the same change of habit, says that the white colour of the capes had been chosen on account of the honour of the Virgin Mary,[64] which is certainly very likely, since the Order already had the name from her, and, in all and everywhere, it looked in a singular manner to her imitation and reverence.

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[59] See Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 70 page 2.

[60] See Palaeonydorus, *Liber trimerestus de principio et processu ordinis carmelitici*, 113.

[61] See Giovanni Villani, *La Nuova Cronica*, 8:109, in Porta, *Cronica, di Giovanni Villani*, 473-474.

[62] See Antoninus, *Chronicorum opus: in tres partes divisum. Tertia pars*, 221.

[63] This refers to Giacomo Filippo Foresti.

[64] See Foresti, *Supplementum Chronicorum. Cui insuper addita est accessio complectens quae ab anno 1500 ad annum 1535 tum hic tum alibi gesta sunt*, 294 (1200 AD).

138.[65] But those, for whom it could not be acceptable that they would not have a beginning in Elijah, are made glad by that change, that the form of the ancient Elijan habit had been restored to the majority of them, Pseudo-John going before themselves towards those things, who from chapter 45 says that the first colour of the woollen tunic, drawn tight to the body by a belt, which the old Elijans wore, refers to this colour which had been that of the *cilicium*,[66] or (as he himself calls it) the 'Sheepskin' of Elijah. 'It is said, however', he says,

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[65] [138] *Verum ii, quibus nihil placere potest quod non habeat in Elia principium, hac mutatione gratulantur restitutam maioribus suis fuisse formam antiqui habitus Eliani, præeunte sibi ad hæc Pseudo-Ioanne, qui primum capite 45 laneæ tunicæ colorem, quam ad corpus zona adstrictam gestasse ait Elianos veteres, refert ad eum colorem, cuius fuerat cilicium, seu (ut ipse appellat) Melota Eliæ: Dicitur autem, inquit Melota proprie a mele animali (quod etiam taxus appellatur) de cuius pilis vel pelle, que est valde hispida, vestis facta, est melota proprie dicta. Itane vero? hæccine in Græco, ut præsumitur auctore, invenisse potuit interpres Gallus aut Latinus? A Mele, Melota? At ego Melem, ne nomine quidem tenus, putabam Græcis esse notam, nisi forte sub appellatione communi* Ἀιλούρου felis, *est enim de felium silvestrium genere, quod taxum vocant alii:* μῆλον *econtra, unde* μηλωτὴν *dici omnes Lexicographi consentiunt, propriißime ovem significat. Isidorus Hispalensis lib. 19 Originum cap. 24, ut id ipsum distinctius explicaret, vocem Græcam sibi retinendam credidit, ideoque cum dixisset Melotas esse pelles caprinas, addidit, fiebant autem prius, ut quidam existimant de pellibus melorum, id est ovium, unde & melotæ vocatæ sunt. Impressa perperam habent melonum, quod mendum in homines Græcæ linguæ minus peritos incidens, fecit eos pro Grecorum* μῆλον *Latinum melis cogitare: nec defuerunt Calepintani Dictionarii suffarcinatores aliqui, tam temerarii, ut Latinæ voci explicandæ Græcis litteris adderent* μελίς, *quæ res credulum illis VVastelium impulit ita scribere, Quis enim qui Grece aliquid novit, voculam* μελίς *Grecam esse ignoret, eamque deduci ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος id est melle, quod nimirum animal hoc, mellis avidissimum, alvearibus insidietur? Vir sane bonus fuit Wastelius; ideo non ipsum per se hæc aliaque scripsisse credo, sed per alium, cuius scientiæ putabat se posse confidere, & ab eo asserta tamquam sua efferre; millies abominaturus deceptorem suum, si vel antiqua Hesychii, Suidæ, Harpocrationis, Andromachi, Pollucis Etymologica Græce scripta legere potuisset, vel recognoscere commentaria Budæi Stephani, Gretzeri, Portii, Meursii, aliorumque de Grecarum aut semigrecarum vocum usu & significationibus Græco-latine recentius editos. Equidem totis quatuordecim annis versatus in auctoribus Græcis evolvendis, transscribendis, interpretandis aut illustrandis; non memini ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος aliud animal dictum legisse quam* μέλισσα *quod est apis: non fui tamen ausus causam abjudicare VVastelio, tam asseveranter locuto, nisi etymologica & lexica singula consuluissem super voce* μελίς, *an illa uspiam inveniretur: ea autem nusquam inventa, nec in ea quæ prætenditur nec in alia quapiam significatione; videat lector quam fidem poßim adhibere iis quibus adiutoribus usus VVastelius suas illas Vindicias compilavit; tam utique infelix vindex, quam auctor quem vindicare contendit infelix fuit etymologus, hic quidem in explicatione Melotæ iam refutata, alibi vero circa nomen torrentis Carith, in quo se abscondit Elias, volens eo nomine moneri monachos, tunc perfectos se fore, quando in Carith, id est in caritate illa absconditi erunt, de qua sapiens ait, universa delicta operit caritas, quæ Grecis ἀγάπη est, nihilque cum Hebraica voce Carith commune habet.*

[66] The *cilicium* (κιλίκιον) was a covering for the body, originally made from Cilician goat-hair, that was used by soldiers and seamen.

> that the Sheepskin is properly from the marten, an animal (that is also called a badger) from whose hairs or pelt, which is very bristly, a vestment having been made, is properly called a sheepskin.[67]

Is it truly so? Could a French or Latin interpreter have found these things in Greek, as is presumed by the author? '*Melota* (Sheepskin), from *Mele* (marten)?' But, from the name, I was considering that the '*Melem* (marten)', a snare, indeed, was not known to the Greeks, unless perhaps under the common appellation of a cat, Ἀιλούρου, for it is from the species of the cats of the forests that others call a 'badger'. Nay, on the contrary, μῆλον,[68] from which is μηλωτὴν,[69] all the Lexicographers being in agreement, most properly means a sheep. In book 19 of the Origins, chapter 24, Isidore of Spain might disentangle the Greek word more distinctly, holding itself back, he believed, and for that reason, when he had said that a '*Melotas* (Sheepskin)' was 'goat-hairs', he adds:

> they were formerly made, however, so that certain ones estimate that they are from the hairs of '*melorum*', that is of sheep, and from this they are called '*melotae*'.[70]

Things having been printed incorrectly have '*melonum*', that among less expert individuals of the Greek language falls in with '*mendum* (error)', on account of the μῆλον[71] of the Greeks it makes the Latin individual think '*melis* (marten)'. Nor did any of those who cram the Calepintan Dictionary, who are so audacious, fail so that they might have attached μελίς to the Latin word needing to be explained with Greek letters,[72] which thing the credulous Wasteels urged those ones to write in this way:

> For could anyone who knows anything in the Greek language not know the little Greek word μελίς, and that the same word is to be led away ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος, that is to honey (*melle*), which is, without

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[67] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:64.

[68] Pronounced 'melon', where the 'e' is long.

[69] Pronounced 'meloten', where both 'e's are long.

[70] See Martinus de Capel, ed. *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Originum libri viginti ex antiquitate eruti* (Basle: Per Petrum Pernam, 1577), 472 (19.24).

[71] Pronounced 'melon', where the 'e' is long.

[72] See Ambrogio Calepino OSA, ed. *Ambrosii Calepini Dictionarium, post omnes omnium editiones, tanta denuo vocum accessione auctum, eaque cura iudicioque recognitum, ut praeterea quicquam in eo desiderare nemo merito aut possit, aut debeat* (Lyons: Apud Seb. Gryphium, 1546), Melota.

doubt, that animal,[73] the most avid for honey, that would lie in wait for beehives?[74]

Wasteels was certainly a good man, for which reason I believe that he himself did not write this thing and other things by himself, but by means of another, to whose knowledge he reckoned he could entrust himself, and bring forth those things having been asserted by him just as his own, the one about to detest his deceiver, being a thousand times better, if he might have read either the ancient Etymology in the Greek language of Hesychius,[75] Sauda,[76] Harpocration,[77] Andromachus,[78] Pollux,[79] or to have recalled to mind the more recently edited commentaries of Budé,[80] Estienne,[81] Gretzer,[82] Portus,[83] Meursi[84] and the others concerning the use and Greco-Roman meanings of Greek or semi-Greek words. At all events, having reflected for fourteen whole years[85] on the Greek

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[73] Although badgers eat insects and the African honey badger, or ratel, eats honey and will climb a tree to gain access to the honey in a bees' nest, it would seem that the only link between badgers and honey that Wasteels could have been aware of was the similarity between one of the Latin names for a badger, *meles*, and the Latin (*mel*) and Greek (μέλι, pronounced *méli*) names for honey, to which he refers.

[74] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:64.

[75] See Cornelis Schrevel, ed. *Hesychiou Lexicon: cum variis doctorum virorum notis vel editis antehac vel ineditus, Junii, Scaligeri, Salmasii, Palmerii, guieti, Sopingii, Cocceii, Gronovii, Tanaq. Fabri, &c* (Leiden: Officina Hackiana, 1668).

[76] See Ludolph Küster, ed. *Suidae Lexicon, Graece & Latine. Tribus voluminis*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: Typis Academicis, 1705).

[77] See Philippe Jacques de Maussac, ed. *Arpokrati□nos Lexikon t□n deka retor□n. Harpocrationis Dictionarium in decem rhetores. Phil. Iacobus Maussacus suppleuit & emendauit. Additae sunt notae, & dissertatio critica in qua de auctore, & de hoc scribendi genere diligenter disputatur* (Paris: apud Claudium Morellum, 1614).

[78] See Christopherus Adamus Beheimius and Christopherus Fridericus Stromerus, *Andromachi Senioris antiquissimum de Theriaca Carmen ad imperatorem Neronem recusum occasione theriacae recens paratae* (Nurmburg: In officina Leinkeriana, 1756).

[79] See Wilhelm Dindorf, ed. *Julii Pollucis: Onomasticon cum annotationibus interpretum* (Leipzig: In Libraria Kuehniana, 1824), 256, 258.

[80] See Guillaume Budé, ed. *Commentarii linguae Graecae Gulielmo Budaeao* (Basle: Episcopius, 1556).

[81] See Henri Estienne, 1531-1598., *Paralipomena grammaticarum Graecarum linguae institutionum* (Geneva: H. Estienne, 1581).

[82] See Gretser, *Jacobi Gretseri societatis Jesu theologi Opera Omnia*.

[83] See Aemilius Portus, *Lexikon D□rikon Hell□norrh□maïkon hoc est Dictionarium Doricum Graecolatinum* (Frankfurt: Ex Officina Pantheniana, 1603).

[84] See Joannes Meursi, *Glossarium Graeco-Barbarum in quo praeter vocabula amplius ter mille sexcenta, officia atque dignitates imperii Constantinop. tam in Palatio quam in Ecclesia aut militia explicantur, et illustrantur* (Leiden: ex officina Thomae Basson, 1610).

[85] The period concerned, 1661-1675, suggests that Papenbroeck had been comment-

authors needing to be unfolded, transcribed, interpreted or explained, I have not remembered having read that ἀπὸ τοῦ μέλιτος[86] was said to be an animal other than that which is the bee. I had not, nevertheless, dared to declare that the cause does not rightly belong to Wasteels, having spoken so earnestly, unless I would have consulted the individual etymologies and dictionaries over the word μελίς, whether it might be found in them anywhere. Having found it nowhere, however, neither in the case of that meaning he brought forward nor in any other, let the reader see what credence I can bring to those things by the use of whose help Wasteels compiled those *Vindications* of his. As unhappy a vindicator, certainly, as the unhappy author was whom the etymologist sought to vindicate, whom, already refuted here, indeed, in the explanation of Melota, elsewhere, however, concerning the name of the torrent 'Carith', at which Elijah hid himself, wishing from that name to be reminded of the monks who will then have made themselves perfect when 'in Carith,[87] that is' they will be 'established in that charity concerning which the wise one says, 'charity covers over all defects taken collectively',[88] which is ἀγάπη[89] for the Greeks, and has nothing in common with the Hebrew word Carith.

139.[90] Had it not been more satisfying to say only that what holds for the garments of Elijah is that concerning them the Scriptures have taught

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ing on Greek writers from the age of 33, two years after he became involved in the writing of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

[86] As in the earlier quotation, this Greek phrase means 'to honey'.

[87] See Wasteels O.Carm., *Vindiciarum Libri tres quibus Joanni Nepotis Sylvano Hierosolym. episcopo... Opera hactenus incognita*, 2:136; Cattaneo O.Carm., *Speculum*, 3 page 1.

[88] See Proverbs 10:12.

[89] Pronounced *agape*, with the 'e' long.

[90] [139] *Quod ad Eliæ vestimenta attinet, satius fuisset hoc solum dicere, quod solum de eis Scriptura nos docuit lib. 4 Reg. 1, quod scilicet fuerit vir pilosus, & zona pellicea accinctus renibus? Pallio quoque usum scimus, ex iis quæ capite 2 narrantur de eius in cælum subvectione. Albumne an atrum id fuerit nemo nos docuit; neque album fuisse docere nos poterit Pseudo-Ioannes, dicens, quod Elias per hoc docuit monachos, hanc Religionem profitentes, debere pallio supervestiri albo, quemadmodum eos indutos albis Dominus præostendit Sabachæ Patri Eliæ &c. Etenim totum hoc de Sabacha commentum non habet Auctores SS. Epiphanium & Dorotheum, ut prætenditur, sed fabulatores quosdam non admodum vetustos. Theophilum Raynaudum audi, in talibus versatißimum, Dorotheo, patria Tyrio, Presbytero Antiocheno, ac Martyri sub Juliano, viro doctissimo iuxta Eusebium lib. 7 hist. cap. ult. suppositus est liber infantilis, cui titulus Synopsis de vita Prophetarum & Discipulorum Domini, scatens fabulosis narrationibus, ut Bellarminus observavit. Hunc Doctorem secutus Pseudo-Ioannes est. Nam qui linguam Græcam prorsus ignoravit, legisse non potuit similem libellum sub Epiphanii nomine Græce scriptum de vita Prophetarum eorumque obitu & sepultura: quem ipsum tamen etiam esse ψευδεπίγραφον interpreti Petavio persuaserunt sexcentæ mendaciorum nugæ, quibus ille liber refertus est, ut testatur Sirmondi successor & scriptorum heres Philippus Labbe, in dissertatione de Scriptoribus*

it only in book four of the Kings, [chapter] one, that, certainly, he was 'a hairy man, and having girded the loins with a belt of hide'?[91] From those things that are narrated from chapter two concerning the transporting of him into heaven,[92] we know also that he used a cloak. Whether white or black nobody has taught us, nor will Pseudo-John have taught us that it had been white, saying that, by means of this thing, Elijah taught[93]

> the monks professing this Religion that they should be clothed with a white cloak, having dressed themselves with white in what manner the Lord previously showed Sobac, the father of Elijah etc.[94]

And indeed the Authors, not Saints Epiphanius[95] and Dorotheus,[96] as it is alleged,[97] but certain not very old narrators, have the whole of that fabrication concerning Sobac. Hear Théophile Raynaud, very much engaged in such things: 'What is fraudulently substituted by Dorotheus, by homeland from Tyre, an Antiochene Presbyter', and a martyr under Julian, 'a most learned man' according to Eusebius, book

> seven of the Histories, the final chapter,[98] is an infantile book, the title of which is *A Synopsis of the Life of the Prophets and Disciples of the Lord*, abounding in incredible narratives, as Bellarmine ... has observed.[99]

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ecclesiasticis.

[91] See 2 Kings 1:8.

[92] See 2 Kings 2:8, 13-14.

[93] Since the word order here is different from that in the text quotes, the interpretation of the use of italics to indicate the direct quotation has been adjusted accordingly.

[94] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 3:97.

[95] See St Epiphanius of Salamis, *Panarion*, 55, in Denis Pétau SJ, ed. *S. Epiphanius: Opera omnia, Gr. et Lat., Dionysius Petavius ex veteribus libris recensuit, Latine vertit et animadversionibus illustravit*, 2 vols. (Paris: Sumptibus Michaelis Sonnii... 1622), 1:470.

[96] See Pseudo-Dorotheus, *De prophetarum vita et obitu*, in Theodor Schermann, ed. *Prophetarum vitae fabulosae: Indices apostolorum discipulorumque Domini, Dorotheo, Epiphanio, Hippolyto alliisque vindicata*, Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanum Teubneriana (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1907), 53 l. 3.

[97] See Juan de Cartagena OFM, *Homiliae catholicae de sacris arcanis Deiparae et Iosephi*, 4 vols. (Paris: Apud Michaelem Sonnium, 1616), 4:439; Esprit Gobineau de Montluisant, *Le Sacré Mont-Carmel ou se void l'excellence de l'ordre de Notre Dame des Carmes, son antique Institution, Merveilles, & Miracles...* (Metz: Par Claude Felix, 1632), 4; Román O.Carm., *Elucidationes varias de la Antiguedad, dignidad y escritores de la sagrada Orden del Carmen, colegidas de autores graves*, 64, page 2 (12); Philip a Sanctissima Trinitate, *Decor Carmeli religiosi, in splendoribus sanctorum ac illustrium religiosorum et monialium, quibus ordo Beatissimae Virginis Mariae de Monte Carmelo, ab Elia sanctissimo propheta institutus quasi firmamentum suis sideribus fulget, prima pars* (Lyon: Sumptibus Antonii Iullieron, typographi, 1665), 2-3.

[98] See Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica*, 7.32.2.

[99] See Théophile Raynaud SJ, *Opera Omnia*, 19 vols. (Lyons: Sumpt. Horatii Boissat

This Doctor[100] followed Pseudo-John.[101] For one who did not know the Greek language at all could not have read the like of the little book written in Greek under the name of Epiphanius 'Concerning the Life of the Prophets and Their Death and Burial'.[102] 'The six hundred mendacious trifles, by which that book was filled, have convinced the interpreter Pétau' that the book itself, nevertheless, 'is a ψευδεπίγραφον',[103] as Philippe Labbé, the successor and heir of the writings of Sirmond, bears witness in the dissertation concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers.[104]

140.[105] But, although Pseudo-Dorotheus,[106] such as I have called him, having followed the Carmelite Pseudo-John,[107] holds out very many proofs of his substitution,[108] he discovered a vindicator, and also now has

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& Georgii Remeus, 1665), 11:281.

[100] In other words, Pseudo-Dorotheus, the author of Synopsis of the Life of the Prophets and Disciples of the Lord.

[101] Here, 'Pseudo-John' would seem to refer to the true author of *The Institute of the First Monks*.

[102] See *Epiphanii episcopi Cypri De prophetarum vita & interitu commentarius graecus...* (Basel: Andreas Cratander, 1529).

[103] A *pseudepigraphon* is a book claiming to be by an author different from the actual author.

[104] See Labbé SJ, *De scriptoribus ecclesiasticis, quos attigit Card: Robertus Bellarminus, philologica et historica dissertatio... duobis tomis*, 1:584.

[105] [140] *Sed quamvis Pseudo-Dorotheum, qualem dixi, secutus Pseudo-Ioannes Carmeliticus, suæ suppositionis præferat indicia plurima, Vindicem tamen reperit, & etiam nunc habet propugnatores omnes eos, qui existimant vix quidquæm certius optari posse ad notitiam Historiæ Carmelitanæ, quam sit iste liber eique succenturiata Cyrilli Epistola. O te infelicem! Ioannes Anni Viterbiensis, quod commentitio tuo Beroso, eique similibus Manethoni atque Megastheni, non admiscueris aliquid de Eliæ Prophetæ discipulis, in Assyriam translatis sub Salmanassare, vel in Babylonem sub Nabuchodonosore, & Elianum institutum inter gentes istas retinentibus ac propagantibus. Quam multi pro te surrexissent Vindices, qui nunc sub pedibus jaces Goropi Becani lib. 4 Originum Antverpiensium supra ruinas tuas exstruentis sua nihilo saniora commenta. Te quoque infelicem! quisquis es Humbalde, qui Chlodovei, primi inter Reges Francos Christiani, ætatem tibi arrogans, Trithemio, compendium Annalium scripturo, suppeditasti seriem & historiam Francorum Regum quadraginta duorum ante Pharamundum, eorum genus a Troianis repetens, in eoque consentiens Pseudomanethoni Annii, Francum, Hectoris filium, in theatrum adducenti. Pro isto labore te tuumque abbreviatorem Trithemium ingrata exsibilat Francia: qui si eadem fide dedisses seriem Carmeliticorum Patrum, ab Elia usque ad Regnum Chlodovei, & hanc idem Trithemius, nihil tibi non crediturus, potuisset inserere libello de laudibus Ordinis Carmelitani, quam fores scriptor indubitabilis, quantis in cælum usque attollerere preconiis!*

[106] This refers to the author of *A Synopsis of the Life of the Prophets and Disciples of the Lord*, who was described as 'This Doctor' earlier in n. 139.

[107] As in n. 139, 'Pseudo-John' would seem to refer to the true author of *The Institute of the First Monks*.

[108] As in n. 139, this refers to the writer's substitution of his own work for that of

all those defenders, who scarcely reckon anything more certain could be chosen for the fame of the Carmelite History, than that the Letter of Cyril would be substituted for him[109] and that this book[110] might be that one. O, you unhappy one!,[111] Giovanni Anni of Viterbo, that with your fabricated Berosus, and, similar to him, Manethon and Magasten, you did not mix in something concerning the disciples of Elijah the Prophet having been transported to Assyria under Shalmaneser, or to Babylon under Nabuchadnezzar, and having retained and propagated the Elijan institute among these peoples.[112] How many vindicators have risen up on your account, you who are now thrown under the feet of Van Gorp van der Beke building up his more wholesome inventions over your ruins in book four of the *Origins of Antwerp*.[113] You unhappy one also!, whoever you are, Hunibaldus, who, the compendium of the Annals about to be written by Trithemius appropriating to you the age of Clovis, the first among the Christian Kings of the Franks, you fully supplied a series and a history of forty-two Kings of the Franks before Pharamond, renewing their descent from the Trojans, and, in him, agreeing with Anni's Pseudo-Manethon bringing Francus, the son of Hector, into the theatre.[114] On account of this work, ungrateful France was hissing at you and at your abbreviator, Trithemius, who, with the same credibility, furnished the series of the Fathers of the Carmelites, from Elijah down as far as the Kingdom of Clovis, and this same Trithemius, about to believe nothing from you, had been able to incorporate that of which you had been the undoubted writer into the little book concerning the praises of the Carmelite Order,[115] in that manner, to raise you by however many public criers all the way into heaven!

Dorotheus.

[109] In other words, attributed to Cyril of Constantinople.

[110] This refers to A Synopsis of the Life of the Prophets and Disciples of the Lord.

[111] The context suggests that this exclamation should be regarded as ironic.

[112] Annius de Viterbo OP was the author of the since-discredited 17-volume *Antiquitatum variarum volumina XVII* (1498), which includes pseudopigraphal works attributed to Berosus, Manethon and Megasten, see Giovanni Anni OP, *Antiquitatum variarum volumina. XVII* (Paris: ab Joanne Parvo et Jodoco Badio, 1515), folios 84-85, 104-145 and 146-152.

[113] See Jan van Gorp van der Beke, *Ioan Goropii Becani Origines Antwerpianae sive cimmeriorum Becceselana novem libro complexa* (Antwerp: Ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1569), 337-446.

[114] See Martin Joseph Kuelbs and Robert P. Sonkowsky, eds., *Ioannes Trithemius OSB: De origine gentis Francorum compendium: an abridged history of the Franks*, Bibliotheca Germanica, 4 (Dudweiler: AQ-Verlag, 1987).

[115] See Ioannes Trithemius OSB, *De laudibus ordinis fratrum carmelitarum* (Mainz: Peter von Friedberg, 1593).

141.[116] If they were bestowing such great names on the ruinous traditions of certain peoples and orders needing to be supported, they[117] perceived this error of yours and were on their guard against the impostors, very similar to Anni and Pseudo-Hunibaldus, the Chronicle of Dexter,[118] the *Fragments* of Luitprand,[119] the commentaries of Peter Julian,[120] the Martyrology of Gregory from Baetica[121] and very many similar, who con-

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[116] [141] *Errorem hunc vestrum viderunt & caverunt Annio & Pseudo-Hunibaldo simillimi impostores illi, qui Dextri Chronicon, Luitprandi Fragmentæ, Iuliani Petri commenta, Gregorii Baetici Martyrologium & similiæ plura procuderunt, crediderunt*que *non defuturos sibi patronos, si ruinosis quorumdam populorum atque ordinum traditionibus fulciendis tam magna commodarent nomina. Ergo tum alia multa commenti sunt pluribus placitura, quia opinationibus eorum vacillantibus conformia, tum Carmelitas nominatim conciliare sibi studuerunt, fingendo, S. Elpidium Sociosque Episcopos (quos Romanum Martyrologium Chersonæ tribuit IV Martii) fuisse monachos Carmelitas, atque Apostolorum prædicatione conversas, & a S. Iacobo consecratos Episcopos, Christianam fidem intulisse Hispaniis, & post fundatas diœceses decem, Martyres ibidem obiisse. Non fuit irritus placendi conatus, nec sua mendaces Scriptores spes fefellit. Defenduntur enim a multis eorum, quorum interest veræ credi quæ scripsere: ex Ordine autem Carmelitico primus Luitprandi causam suscepit Lezana ad annum Christi 40; Lezanam vero secuti sunt, quotquot post eum manus applicuere Carmelitanæ antiquitati. Et tamen eorum aliqui, quos nequeo excusare, legerant in primo tomo Martii nostri, S. Elpidium & alios cum eo nominatos Episcopos Diocletiani ævo in Scythiam succeßive directos ab Hermone Hierosolymitano Episcopo, fidem a se prædicatam Chersone, in Taurica, non in Hispanica Chersoneso, morte sua obsignasse; post quos denique missus eodem Capito sub Magno Constantino, fructus collegit Martyrum sanguine irrigatos, & Confessor gloriosus colitur a Græcis, una cum ceteris VII Martii, insigni totius diei officio. Si nescivit fabulator ille, fore ut aliquando falsitas sua ex originariis Græcorum fontibus patesceret; jam patefactam non potuerunt ignorare Luitprandi assertores ultimi, quando legerunt Martium nostrum. Quod si ista de Elpidio & sociis forsitan non legerunt, maiore eos cura urgente, ut nisi in dicto mense invenirent probatas opinationes suas, invenirent saltem suarum de nobis querelarum argumentum; negare non poterunt lectam a se fuisse Præfationem ad Acta Februarii, ubi satis diximus ut sciret unusquisque, Luitprandi Fragmenta esse figmentis adnumeranda.*

[117] This refers, presumably, to Van Gorp van der Beke and to the people of France.

[118] See Flavius Lucius Dexter, Jerónimo Román de la Higuera SJ, and Franciscus Bivarius, eds., *Fl. Lucii Dextri Barcinonensi... Chronicon omnimodae historiae... nunc demum opera et studio Fr. Francisci Bivarii...* (Lyons: Sumptibus Claudii Landry, 1627); Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 7 (Mar II):383-385 (nn. 45-50).

[119] See Tomás Tamayo de Vargas, ed. *Luitprandi, sive Eutrandi... episcopi Cremonensis... Chronicon ad... & Fragmanta* (Madrid: Ex typographia Francisci Martinez, 1635).

[120] See the *Ordo annorum mundi*, attributed, apparently falsely, to Archbishop Peter Julian of Toledo, in *J. C. Martín-Iglesias and V. Yarza Urquiola, eds., Opera II: Elogium Ildefonsi, Vita Iuliani (auctore Felice Toletano), Antikeimena, Fragmenta, Ordo annorum mundi (Iulianus Toletanus, Felix Toletanus, Iulianus Toletanus (Ps.)), 2 vols., Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 115A, B (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014).*

[121] There is no martyrology among the works that modern scholars attribute to Bishop Gregory of Elvira and this author has not been able to find any reference to a martyrology attributed to him except here. Perhaps Papenbroeck had in mind the ninth century work known as the *Martyrologium Sancti Quintini* or *Pseudo-Florus*, which Papenbroeck himself recognised as having been falsely attributed to Florus of Lyons, see Bollandists,

trived patrons about to be absent and did not consign [their writings] to themselves. Therefore, then, because those things are similar to their vacillating opinions, many other things that are of a fictitious nature are about to be pleasing for very many. If so, the Carmelites were particularly eager to recommend themselves by supposing that St Elpidius and his companion Bishops (whom the Roman Martyrology assigns to Chersone on the fourth of March[122]) had been Carmelite monks, and, having also been converted by the preaching of the Apostles, and consecrated Bishops by St James, had brought the Christian faith to the Spaniards. And after ten dioceses having been founded, they died Martyrs in that same place.[123] The effort of pleasing had not been in vain, nor did their hope disappoint the mendacious writers. For they were defended by their many things, from which it is believed that the true matters that were written differ. De Lezana was the first from the Carmelite Order who undertook the cause of Luitprand for the year of Christ, 40.[124] However many Carmelites after him applied the hands to antiquity, however, they followed de Lezana. And some of them, whom I do not know how to excuse, nevertheless, will have read in our first volume of March[125] that St Elpidius and the others with him, having been named Bishops in Sythia during the lifetime of Diocletian, having afterwards been scattered by Hermon, Bishop of Jerusalem, the faith preached by them in Chersone, in the Tauric peninsula,[126] not in the Spanish Penísola,[127] had been sealed by their death. And, after their despatching by the same Leader,[128] produced the fruits watered by the blood of the Martyrs under Constantine the Great, and the Glorious Confessor Elpidius, together with the rest, is honoured by the Greeks on the seventh of March with a distinguished office of the whole day.[129] If that narrator did not know, it will be that, having already disclosed that the latter could not ignore the advocates of Luitprand, when they read our [writing] of March, his falsehood might be made manifest from the original sources of the Greeks. That if, per-

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Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794), 7 (Mar II):v-xlii; Henri Quentin OSB, *Les Martyrologes Historiques du moyen age*, Études d'histoire des dogmes et d'ancienne littérature ecclésiaastique (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre, J. Gabalda & Cie, 1908), 131-135.

[122] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):641 (nn. 9-10).

[123] See de Lezana O.Carm. and Ciamberlano, *Annales sacri*, 2:127-131.

[124] See ibid.

[125] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):639-642.

[126] The Tauric peninsula is on the south western coast of the Crimea on the Black Sea.

[127] The Spanish peninsula of Penísola.

[128] This refers, it seems, to Diocletian.

[129] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 6 (Mar I):639-642.

haps, by urging them with greater care, they did not read those things concerning Elpidius and his companions so that, unless they will have found their opinions approved in the same month, they will at least have found the theme of their complaints concerning us; that they were not able to deny that the preface to the Acts of February[130] had been read by them, where we have said enough so that each and every one might know that the *Fragments* of Luitprand[131] are to be considered deceits.

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[130] See ibid., 3 (Feb I):ix-xxvj.

[131] See Tamayo de Vargas, *Luitprandi, sive Eutrandi... episcopi Cremonensis... Chronicon ad... & Fragmanta.*

CONCLUSION[1]

142.[2] O Reader, you have the history of the Order, not 'seen from the curve of the moon, or from the likeness of a mushroom rising in a single night' (which fancy some had wished to falsely impute to us, it seems),[3] but having been conceived on Mount Carmel in the twelfth century of the Christian era out of the revelation of Elijah the Prophet to one desiring to obtain the favour of Aimery of Antioch,[4] having been fully formed,[5] how-

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[1] *CONCLUSIO.*

[2] [142] *Habes Lector historiam Ordinis, non e concavo lunæ lapsi, aut fungi instar una orti nocte (quam nobis opinionem videtur nonnemo voluisse affingere) sed Christianæ Æræ seculo XII, ex Eliæ Prophetæ revelatione, in monte Carmelo, aspirante Aymerici Antiocheni favore, concepti; seculo autem XIII, sub Alberto Hierosolymitano plene formati: vel (si mavis ad ætatem Eliæ primos ipsius ortus attollere) sub jam dictis Patriarchis regenerati reformatique; atque post hanc seu primam seu secundam originem, congruis sed modicis incrementis succeßive aucti; usque dum cælum solumque mutans, eas radices in Europa egit, ut brevi ingens steterit & firma arbor, seseque propagans silvam ingentem una ipsa constituerit. Eam historiam quod ex coævorum scriptorum monumentis maluerim petere, quam ex diu post compositis auctorum supposititiorum narrationibus, inter se atque cum veritate pugnantibus, nemo reprehendet qui lucem diliget & veritatem. Si supposititios dixi, coegit eorum falsitas evidenter cognita neque ulterius dißimulanda, nisi pro alienæ gloriæ invido traduci me vellem, qui poßim & nolim Elianæ succeßionis certitudinem meo suffragio stabilire. Non ipsam oppugnatum veni, sed quæsitum firmiora documenta, quam quibus alii innixi toties & tam turpiter, ut ostensum est, corruerunt. Quod nulla invenerim, infelicitati meæ & eorum quibus operam hanc impensam volui, imputetur potius quam caritas violetur: in iis saltem quæ temporum nostrorum cognitioni propius adjacent, non frustra videor laborasse. Si alius felicior uspiam habet servatque idonea pro seculis Bertholdum prægressis successionis quæsitæ testimonia, succurrat nobis & sanctissimo Ordini, antiquioris originis probandæ cupientissimo. Interim, dum prodit nemo, nec proditurum quemquam persuadet irritus hactenus scrutantium labor & in scrutinio deficientium; faciamus historiæ Carmelitanæ initium in Bertholdo & Brocardo, in quibus indubitabilis de ea cognitionis invenitur principium: neque intendamus, sicut monet Apostolus, genealogiis interminatis, quæ quæstiones præstant magis quam ædificationem Dei.*

[3] See de la Bonne Espérance OCD, *Historico-theologicum Carmeli armamentarium*, 2; Papenbroeck SJ, *Responsio... ad exhibitionem errorum*, 2:180.

[4] See the mention of Berthold having been warned in some manner by Elijah about inhabiting Carmel in n. 66.

[5] Since Albert's Formula of Life seems to have been intended for a group of lay men that includes, perhaps, some who were ordained as priests or deacons, and since that group does not seem to have become a Religious Order under the Rule promulgated by Pope Innocent IV in 1247, contemporary scholarship would describe the Carmelite Order

ever, under Albert of Jerusalem in the thirteenth century. Or (if you prefer to extol the first ones of its beginning up to the time of Elijah) having been regenerated and reformed under the already mentioned Patriarchs and also after this either first or second beginning, but having been successively enlarged by suitable modest increases, up to where, the sky and the ground changing, it extended its roots in Europe so that in a short time a vast and enduring tree was erected, and, propagating itself, one and the same tree established a vast forest. Nobody who will love the light and the truth will censure this history that I preferred to seek from the documents of contemporary[6] writers than from the narratives composed a long time afterwards by substituted authors fighting among themselves and also with the truth. If I have said substituted, unless I wanted to be disgraced on account of envying the glory of another, their falsehood having been perceived and not needing to be disguised further evidently infers in what manner I can and am unwilling to confirm the certitude of the Elijan succession with my ballot. I came not having laid siege to the matter itself, but having sought to procure more trusty documents than those by which the others, having so often and in such an unsightly manner supported themselves, fell down, as was shown. Charity is brought into the reckoning rather than outraged that, to my misfortune and to that of those to whom I wanted this work devoted, I have found none.[7] At least in these things that border more closely the knowledge of our times, I was not seen to have laboured in vain. If another more fortunate has and preserves somewhere suitable testimonies of the sought-for succession for the centuries preceding Berthold, let him hasten to our aid and that of the most holy Order[8] very much longing for a more ancient origin being demonstrated. In the meantime, while nobody comes forward, nor anything about to come forward is persuading anybody that the work thus far of those scrutinising and now withdrawing from the investigation was in vain, let us make the beginning of the Carmelite history in Berthold and Brocard, in whom the origin of an undoubtable knowledge concerning those things is found. 'Nor', just as the Apostle[9] warns, should we direct our thoughts[10] 'to end-

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has having been 'fully formed' only with the promulgation of the Rule of 1247. See Mullins O.Carm., *St Albert of Jerusalem and the Roots of Carmelite Spiritualilty*, 27-28, 166-167.

[6] Here, 'contemporary' refers to the historical developments he was considering, rather than to Papembroeck's own era.

[7] This refers to 'more trusty documents'.

[8] This refers to the Carmelite Order.

[9] The Apostle here is St Paul.

[10] The phrase 'should we direct our thoughts' translates the Latin word *indendamus*, which is included in the quotation, presumably the result of a typographical error. The Vulgate text has '*intenderent* (that they should direct their thoughts)'.

less genealogies that warrant questions more than the process of building by God'.[11]

143.[12] This tract having been given a new form, I revised the whole eight or ten times (which work will hardly have produced one tract if I expend half a century of months[13] each *Acta Sanctorum*); afterwards, by human diligence, it was also possible, I am confident, to obtain in greater measure that which I pursued in this material, the same for the very many other things that the laws of our Society[14] demand. As something needing to be judged, I have submitted it to the domestic and external Censors, lest I have left behind any imprudent word that deserved a justified complaint. Afterwards, finally, I have removed a good part of the material prepared, which regarded Bl. Albert and the institution undertaken by him less directly, lest by accumulating the very many errors of the Carmelites without necessity, and by needing to refute those with greater labour, I would be judged to have acted in a less friendly manner. It[15] seems to me to be able to pass not only concerning the judgment of the other readers but also concerning the favour of the same Carmelite Order. As much as it loves its own things, so much will it love the renown given to those things by this work, and the sincerity of soul regarding the one truth. Accordingly, it has certainly bidden me to hope that one of the Censors, a man of especially acute and practised judgment, not only in the more severe disputations of the school but also in the profane and sacred Histories, who, now that he had reread this Commentary two or

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[11] Papenbroeck quotes the Vulgate version of 1 Timothy 1:4.

[12] [143] *Ego qui, quod humana diligentia assequi in hac materia potuit, maiori ex parte me assecutum confido, postquam hunc tractatum interpolatis vicibus octies deciesve ad incudem revocavi totum (quem laborem si singulis Sanctorum Actis impenderem vix medio sæculo mensis unus prodiret) postquam etiam eumdem multo pluribus, quam alias Societatis nostræ leges exigent, Censoribus domesticis externisque dijudicandum subieci, ne verbum vllum imprudens relinquerem quod iustam mereretur offensionem; postquam denique bonam paratæ materiæ partem sequestravi, quæ B. Albertum & acceptam ab eo institutionem minus directe spectabat, ne Carmelitarum errores plures accumulando absque neceßitate, eosque operosius refutando, minus amice egisse judicarer; videor mihi non de aliorum tantum lectorum iudicio securus posse degere, sed etiam de ipsius Carmelitici Ordinis favore; qui quantum res proprias amat, tantum debebit amare claritatem, jisdem opera hac allatam; & sinceritatem animi, unam spectantis veritatem. Ita certe sperare me jussit, Censorum unus, acris imprimis exercitatique vir judicii, non tantum in disceptationibus scholæ severioris, sed etiam in Historiis profanis ac sacris; qui dum Commentarium hunc iterum tertioque relegisset, animi sui sensum scripto, quod subjicio, testimonio declaratum voluit in hæc verba:*

[13] In other words, fifty months or four years and two months.

[14] This refers to the Jesuits, the Society of Jesus.

[15] This refers, it would seem, to the final version of the tract.

three times, from writing down the observation of his soul, from the testimony he wanted to disclose in these words, that which I submit:

144.[16]

I have read the life of Albert, nor can I not congratulate it, firstly, indeed, for the truth that shines forth out of the darkness; then, for the Carmelite Order, for which nothing could be more pleasing than to appear gleaming, not thanks to an assumed and counterfeit re-painting, but in its own proper radiance, after the banishment of the nonsense of apocryphal writings thoughtlessly passed down by the hand of traditional fables. Now, with applause, it can offer itself to the eyes of the learned who, previously, turned away from the fog of such incredible absurdities. That saying of Pindar in his first Ode relates to this: Ἤ θαῦμα τὰ πολλὰ. Καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν φρένα, Ὕπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, Δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις Ἐξαπατῶντι μύθοι. Certainly, there are many wonders and, at any rate, speaking the truth is more important than the opinion of mortals. After a few falsehoods, also, the various fables lead us away from the truth by contrary falsehoods. Ἀμεραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι Μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι. Yet it is not the eye-witnesses, but those of the following day, that are found to be the most wise. Thus time and labour shed light on all things. Concerning which things, I congratulate again such a happy result of so much work. Every one of the historians, who are,

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[16] [144] *Legi Alberti vitam, neque possum non gratulari, primum quidem veritati, quæ elucescit e tenebris; tum Carmelitano Ordini, cui nihil potest este jucundius, quam pulsis apocrypharum scriptionum & temere traditarum per manus fabellarum nugis, apparere se, non ascititio adulterinoque fuco splendentem, sed proprio suo candore. Nunc poterit se offerre oculis eruditorum cum plausu, qui antea aversabantur caliginem tantam incredibilium ineptiarum. Huc pertinet illud Pindaricum, Ode prima. Ἤ θαῦμα τὰ πολλὰ. Καί πού τι καὶ βροτῶν φρένα, Ὕπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον, Δεδαιδαλμένοι ψεύδεσι ποικίλοις Ἐξαπατῶντι μύθοι. Sane, miraculum sunt multa. Et utique mortalium mentem, Magis quam verus sermo, Diversis mendaciis variegatæ Abducunt fabulæ. Atque post pauca. Ἀμεραι δ' ἐπίλοιποι Μάρτυρες σοφώτατοι. Sed posteri dies Testes sunt sapientissimi. Sic omnia tempus & labor elucidat. Quocirca iterum gratulor tam felicem operæ tantæ successum. Plaudet omnis historicorum, qui vere sunt historici, natio; uti plausere vestro Dagoberto, Guilielmo, Suiberto & sexcentis hujusmodi, quæ eruderata ex barbariæ maceriis dirutis, debet orbis vestris vigiliis. Neque vero habenda ratio eorum, qui Berosos, Hunibaldos, Dextros, Luitprandos & hujusmodi monstra vel amant vel etiam mirantur. Non scribitis noctuis aut vespertilionibus, quibus intolerabilis lux est, ad quam se speluncis includunt; sed aquilis, quæ quasi luce ab infantia pastæ, exploratæ ad meridiem, solo jubare plenæ diei lætantur. Ita judico. I. V. C. Simile judicium, postquam impressus his Commentarius erat, de eo tulerunt viri in dignitate tam ecclesiastica quam religiosa constitute, & eruditionis nota celebres, ex Italis, Francis, Anglis, Germanis ac Belgis, rogati cum totum accurate legere ac relegere; cum parati essemus, etiam post impressionem, mutare vel omittere, si quid displicuisset. Sed negarunt omnes quidquam mutandum vel omittendum, mirifice probantes singular, nobisque testimonium dantes quod solidißime adstrueretur, quiduid hic affirmatur.*

> truly, the birth of the historical, will applaud; as they applaud your Dagobert,[17] William,[18] Suibert[19] and six hundred of this kind,[20] who, by what was destroyed out of the afflictions of a foreign country having been cleared from rubbish, are in debt to the vigils of your circle. Nor will the judgment[21] of those who either love or even admire entertaining the like of Berosus, Hunibaldus, Dexter, Luitprand and monstrosities of this kind.[22] You are not writing for night-owls or bats, for whom the light is intolerable, before which they shut themselves up in caves, but for eagles, who, having been nourished by light almost from infancy, having been sought out by light before noon, rejoice only by the radiance of abundant day. I judge accordingly. I. V. C.[23]

After this Commentary was printed, men constituted in both an ecclesiastical and religious dignity from the Italians, French, English, Germans and Belgians, and celebrated for their recognised learning, having been asked to read and reread it with all care, since we would be ready, even after the printing, to change or omit anything if it were to be unsatisfactory, declared a similar judgment concerning it. But they all denied that anything needed to be changed or omitted, wonderfully approving and giving us a singular testimony that whatever is asserted here should be affirmed[24] most completely.[25]

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[17] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 8 (Mar III):xii-xxiv; Godefridus Henschen SJ, *De tribus Dagobertis Francorum regibus diatriba* (Antwerp: Typis Jacobus Merrsii, 1655).

[18] See Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*, 4 (Feb II):433-491.

[19] See ibid., 6 (Mar I):67-86.

[20] This refers, it seems, to the six hundred individuals whose true identity has been distinguished from other alleged identities thanks to the Jesuit writers of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

[21] On the replacement of *oratio* with *ratio* in the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*.:9 (Apr I):910.

[22] This refers, it seems, to the other fictitious authors who had been identified thanks to the Bollandist authors of the *Acta Sanctorum*.

[23] The 'I. V. C.' refers to Fr Jacobus van Calloen SJ, once Papenbroeck's professor of theology at Louvain and, at that time, a censor for the *Acta Sanctorum*, see Papenbroeck SJ, *Elucidatio historica actorum in controversia super origine, antiquitate, et historiis Sacri Ordinis Beatae Mariae de Monte Carmeli...* 14 (n. 28).

[24] On the verb *adstruo* having the significance 'to affirm', see Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), astruo, pp. 184-185.

[25] On the addition of the final section beginning 'Simile judicium' to the original Latin text, see the appendix for April 8th in Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum (1643-1794)*.:9 (Apr I):910

Index

In this index of documents, people, places and topics, an individual bishop will be found under his respective diocese and an individual lord under his respective lands. The numbers in brackets indicate the year in which their lordship or episcopate began and ended or the year in which they figure in the narrative. Authors are found under their family names but those who are known only or mainly by their Religious names are found under those names. Those identified by their place of origin are found under their Christian names. Religious Orders, including Canons Regular, their foundations and, apart from cited authors, their members are found under their common designations (e.g., Carmelites, Dominicans) but the canons associated with particular places are found under that town or city. References to particular texts in the Bible are to be found under 'Scriptures'.

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Daniel Papenbroeck's commentary on St Albert of Jerusalem (1675) is probably the most controversial work that has been published on the origins of the Carmelites. Demonstrating the lack of any historical evidence to support the existence of the Carmelites before the final decades of the twelfth century, and questioning the claim that the Old Testament prophet, Elijah, has been their founder, Papenbroeck recognised St Albert of Jerusalem (c. 1150-1214) Formula of Life (c. 1206-14) as the earliest extant document of the group that would later become known as the Carmelites. Although the commentary was praised by those who reviewed it prior to publication, it led to a controversy between the Bollandists and the Carmelites that resulted in the formal excommunication of its author and the placing of the work on the index of forbidden books. In time, however, the lack of historical evidence highlighted by Papenbroeck could not be ignored and the alleged Carmelite Saints of the first millennium were eventually dropped from the Carmelite calendar of Saints. The key role of St Albert of Jerusalem in the origins of the Carmelites has now been almost universally recognised. Papenbroeck's Latin text has not been translated before and the introduction and notes accompanying this translation are designed to provide the necessary context and background for the modern reader. For centuries, Papenbroeck was both the most significant and most neglected study of the origins of the Carmelites and it remains essential reading for those seeking to discover the authentic sources of the Carmelite charism.

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